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# WEEKLY PEOPLE

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## THE REPORT OF L. A. 345

To The Seventh Annual Convention of The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance of the United States and Canada, Hartford, Conn.  
W. L. Brower, General Secretary.

Comrades:

Being separated from the seat of your convention by many thousands of miles, and possessing neither railroad passes nor anything else that a self-respecting burglar would consider worth while, L. A. 345 is again unable to send a delegate to the S. T. & L. A. Convention, which we very much regret.

Nevertheless, the Local considers it proper that our comrades of the East should hear from the class conscious proletarian army on this occasion, and we beg leave to submit this, our report.

In order to give our comrades an idea of the conditions which here confront us, and of the material from which a proletarian movement has to be built up in California, we wish to go somewhat into detail.

California is the pet child of nature. Its eternal summer climate leaves nothing more to be desired, and its scenery is grand beyond description. Its fields are more fertile than the famous black earth of Russia, producing a vegetation of freakish proportions. In its forests are found trees as thick and as high as many a "skyscraper" in Manhattan. Its mountain ranges contain incalculable mineral wealth and are covered with the finest pastures, where millions of cattle graze. Its rivers and streams flow over golden beds and abound with trout. Its gardens are beautiful with flowers, more varied, more numerous, more ravishing in splendor than was ever imagined by the basch-laden brains of authors of Arabian tales. Grapes and wine from its vineyards are coveted luxuries on the tables of our masters throughout the world. Its orchards, covering thousands upon thousands of acres, disgorge trainloads of cherries, apricots, peaches, lemons, oranges, figs, almonds, walnuts, olives. In fact, everything that man can cultivate, the soil of California yields with almost oppressive bounty, sufficient for a hundred times its present population of 1,500,000, a population scattered over an area almost exactly as large as Sweden. So fertile is California that it is able to produce in superabundance. Surely we ought to be happy, in so far as material well-being is a fundamental condition for happiness. Ah, but!

However, this statement, which in the first hand applies to the working class, is not apt to surprise men to whom the capitalist system is an open book. The impression we wish to convey is that California is pre-eminently a State of natural resources, and an agricultural country rather than an industrial. Its soil is nominally owned by a large class of small ranchers, sagging under the burden of mortgages, bled to the safety limit by the railroad princes, and at the mercy of the commercial combinations which market the product. This wretched class of farmers, in order to keep from sinking into the ranks of the agricultural proletariat, exploit their "hands" to a degree which puts them on the Chinese level of living. In fact, a large part of the workers are Chinese and Japanese.

Agriculture thus carried on, on a small scale, with the usual incompetency, anarchy, and wastefulness of small business production, results in the most abject slavery of the real toilers, while the tax of the land goes in part to the real owners of the land, the mortgage-holding capitalist class, in part to the owners of the means of distribution, the warehouses, the ships, the railroads, and the commercial engineers. While this fact should be plainly visible to every one, the continued existence of an anemic class of go-betweens, the class of ranchers, blurs the class contrast and leaves the agricultural proletariat in willing ignorance of their true condition, and makes this large class almost inaccessible to Socialist teaching. They are still clinging to the hope of, some day, in some mysterious way, becoming the owners of their own "home," or of a gold mine, or of a corner lot. But here, as elsewhere, the progress of capitalism, which turns agriculture more and more into an industry with all the characteristics of modern capitalist production, is gradually demarcating the class lines more plainly. The bonanza farm is looming up over the horizon. What applies to agriculture also applies to the raising of cattle. There are already grazing grounds as large as an average sized German principality, owned by single individuals.

The mining and lumber industries are next in importance, but neither of them has yet taken as a whole, attained a development which would place them on a par with the consolidated interest in the same branches in the East and in the Middle States.

The coastwise navigation is still largely in the hands of small industrial ship-owners, only the trans-Pacific lines being concerns of any magnitude.

Only one industry, the shipbuilding industry, has assumed proportions which entitle it to the name of an up-to-date capitalist institution. The Union Iron Works, a part of the shipbuilding trust, employs upward of 2,000 men.

The railroad systems are, of course, also an integral part of the great national combinations.

not yet emancipated itself from middle class domination.

When Horace Greely said: "Go west, young man; go west," he probably had this fact in view. As the opportunities for successful competition with giant capital in the East narrowed down to a minimum for "the small man," they came West, and still continue to come, causing periodical building booms in the cities where they hang out their shingles, with new hopes, or to which they retire in involuntary, modest obscurity on the ruins of what was once a fortune in the East. This latter element have whole towns to themselves in the southern part of "our" State.

The elements which constitute the population of California are then:

1. A handful of very wealthy men.
2. A swarm of professional and quasi-professional men and women. In fact, California seems to be a haven for frauds and fakirs.

3. An exceedingly numerous class of merchants, small manufacturers, petty shopkeepers, and small tradesmen.

4. A large class of ranchers, hanging on for their dear life to the fence which separates them from the proletariat.

5. A large class of transient agricultural laborers, working for a Chinese wage, or less, in the season, and between times hunted like wild animals, with a price set on their heads, rounded up, and put in the chalu gags to work on the high road. These changuangs of "tramps" are a familiar sight in the southern part of California, where the marshes get the bounty on "tramps" as salary. (Three cheers for the ingenuity of taxpayers!)

6. A considerable number of craftsmen of the building trades, periodically afflicted with prosperity and paying for homes on the installment plan.

7. A few thousand of modern industrial proletarians.

From this classification our comrades will be able to understand in what manner and under what conditions Californians are making their living.

And, as we Socialists so well know, the conditions under which people make their living are truly reflected in their social conditions and in their mode of thinking.

Having, as we believe, plainly demonstrated that these conditions are distinctly middle class, we will have little difficulty in convincing you that Californians of all classes have their heads full of middle class ideals, such as "smashing the trusts," "California for the Californians," "just taxation," etc. The workers, always borrowing their ideals from the middle class, chime in lustily, imagining that they have identical interests. They have not yet run their nose up against the Gibraltar of modern capitalism.

If we deign to honor the American Federation of Labor with the name of social institution, we also find that it truly reflects the industrial and commercial cockroach stage of California. Pure and simple trade unionism, the spontaneous outgrowth of capitalism in the stage of infancy, has in this State attained a growth in numbers, possible only when it is confronted with the comparatively helpless small bourgeois, in desperate competition with his fellow six penny labor skimmers. The workers in every conceivable kind of employment, down to the newsboys and the matchboys, have been organized; and these organizations are quite successful in cornering the jobs for their membership, leaving the other workers out in the cold! So anxious are they to preserve the monopoly of working themselves to death for "a fair day's pay" that some unions have raised the initiation fee to a height which makes it, to say the least, difficult to share in their imagined prosperity. The hodcarriers have an initiation fee of \$30, while the marine firemen consider their jobs so precious that they have to charge \$50 for allowing a fellow slave to burn out his life-force in the stove hole.

While the pure and simple unions have thus met with some success in monopolizing for their membership the chances of being exploited by the small employers, they have even here demonstrated their inability to accomplish even that much, when they have to deal with concerns which are of any account in the capitalist world. The trans-Pacific steamship lines ignore the good union men, and the complete failure of the strike in the Union Iron Works is recent history. In this establishment the union men went back to work with the blessings of the Civic Federation, "pending a settlement." And it is almost unnecessary to state that the settlement is still "pending."

The apparent triumph of pure and simple trade unionism in San Francisco, where the triumph may be said to be nearly complete, climaxed by the election of the notorious "labor mayor" and some other equally good union men, to political office, has entirely turned the heads of the workmen. What great things they are going to accomplish they probably do not know themselves, their highest aim being a "fair day's pay for a fair day's work." When the reaction sets in they will surely be the most puzzled men in the country.

As to Socialism in California, it is nothing but natural that it should largely assume the character of bourgeois

Socialism, as represented by the "Socialist" party, which is neither a party nor Socialist. In its race for a large vote and in its logrolling with the other capitalist parties, this party in California partially fused with the Union Labor party, which in its turn also had partially fused with the Democratic party. Before the election the "socialists" displayed signs in the street announcing the joint nominees of the "Socialist" and the Union Labor party for governor, thus openly acknowledging the truth of this statement.

Laboring, as our eastern comrades are, under conditions of capitalism which are, so to say, of the latest fashion, you are apt to be puzzled by the doings of Californians. But if we are willing to admit that men are primarily the product of the conditions immediately surrounding them, and more so, in proportion as they are lacking in knowledge and unable to grasp the national and international character of the proletarian movement, and knowing that those conditions are of a middle class character, we should easily comprehend that men who have the strings on their bread and butter controlled by a petit bourgeois system, will be more in sympathy with bourgeois socialism. The taint of corruption, which all contact with the bourgeois is bound to engender, will serve as an explanation to the queer antics of a kangaroo character, past, present, and future, of the California "socialists" both inside and outside the S. L. P.

In imparting this information, we hope to have also made it clear to our comrades what kind of material we here have to work upon, as well as to have enabled you to judge with more accuracy, what can reasonably be expected of those who fight the battle of the S. T. & L. A. and the S. L. P. in this State.

L. A. 345 has taken upon itself to stand as a true representative of the modern, revolutionary proletarian movement as expressed in the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance and its political expression, the Socialist Labor Party.

Profiting by past experience, and entertaining no hopes of immediately gathering under our banner the main body of workingmen, we are selecting our material with minute scrupulousness; always having in view that only a compact organization, conscious of, and working for a common aim, can survive a tempest, we are careful not to admit people of whom we are not sure that they unqualifiedly endorse our aims, methods and tactics. This will partially account for the fact that our number has remained stationary, the number of new members being just sufficient to compensate for the members which we have weeded out and those who found it comfortable to resign from our somewhat strenuous companionship.

But other factors have been standing in our way also. The at first passive hostility of the local contingent of "twentieth century socialists" and "logical centrists," in conjunction with a couple of conspicuous lights, which have now thrown off the mask in advance of their friends, soon gave room to active obstruction, calumny and denunciation. And, vested as they are, with official prestige, they have been able to somewhat impede our progress. Add to this that L. A. 345 almost exclusively consists of overalls men who often have to leave town for some place where they can sell their labor power you will understand that we have been at quite a disadvantage in grappling with an untoward situation.

Occasionally our speakers have been jailed and lately the interference of the police has been renewed. Not being on the lookout for notoriety or martyrdom, and having no money wherewith to pay for court proceedings we have found it advisable to cede the glory and the expense of establishing the right to a certain favorable street corner, to those who are looking for advertisement and are willing to pay for it.

Measuring the success of our work by the amount of literature we have disposed of, we find that we have sold, during the year, 1,000 and some odd pamphlets, and also twenty-five Sunday Daily People and twenty-five Weekly People each week. Through the Local have been sent in 105 subscriptions to the Daily, Weekly and Monthly People and about a dozen subscriptions to the party organs in foreign languages.

Throughout the year we have held one street meeting every week, weather permitting, and our weekly discussions under the head of "Labor Question" in the "order of business" have been conducted as regular indoor propaganda meetings. Since the beginning of November we have also held half meetings every Sunday night in Pythian Castle, a popular forum in this burg, making in all three meetings a week. And it is our purpose to carry on the work of propaganda on this scale during the coming year.

Realizing that only hard work and indomitable energy will enable us to defend the banner of the S. T. & L. A. and the S. L. P. in California we work without freakish enthusiasm, but with dogged persistency. We know that "every evil tendency will run its course," that the time is fast approaching, when pure and simple trade unionism, whether in the economic or political field shall come to a standstill, when bourgeois socialism shall have come to the end of its rope. We know that after the workers have vainly allowed themselves to be duped by alluring reform schemes, they will finally wake up to the realization of the fact that the road to emancipation goes through the gates, opened by the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance and the Socialist Labor Party.

Our purpose is, then, to build up a strong compact organization, even if small, which shall be capable of weathering any storm; to form a nucleus for a clear, revolutionary, proletarian movement.

Lack of immediate, howling success can not discourage men who are sure they

## TROY UNIONISM

Disports itself in a Manner That Adds to the Gayety of the Nations—Casey, the Strenuous Owl.

Troy, N. Y., Dec. 17.—The Cigar-makers' Union here is in a turmoil over the action of the immortal thirty-one herges who were fined for refusing to march behind the scab drum corps Labor Day.

They had the temerity to investigate the conduct of the committee who engaged the music for that occasion and obtained a statement from the local band masters that they could have furnished a union band for that day if asked and that they had no application from the committee to furnish music. Charges are being prepared, it is said against them and their only salvation at present seems to be to "Split the Pot."

The only Mike Meldonio is now both secretary and treasurer, and, before he assumed these positions they were always filled by two persons; but Mike had them combined, and, at present, he is it in local fakirdom.

"Echo" Richards has been offered the office of secretary of the Cigar-makers' Union. The Echo is mildly protesting that he does not want the job, but, no doubt, will sacrifice himself for the holy cause of unionism if there is anything in it for the present faint "Echo."

At the last meeting of the American Federation of Hell, Tebo Guerin submitted a report on the workers in nearby cities. The report states "there existed a great deal of enthusiasm among the workers, and that from his country they were flocking to the different unions like sheep to a pasture." If this be true, it will certainly be a year of prosperity for the labor fakirs, and the workers who have flocked will find the union pasture has turned to a capitalistic quarry.

President McManus (the rising star in the union darkness of the cigar-makers' scab drum corps) and Poon Bah Meldonio, with two delegates from the Coal Handlers' Union have been the past week interviewing the bosses in order to obtain a raise of one dollar a week. The two delegates are honest men and deserve success, and should, if they are condemned for the company they keep.

The Masons' Union have recently elected a delegate to the coming national convention, and thereby hangs a tale. One Casey, otherwise known as the human callopie, because of the strength of his voice and lack of musical tone or ideas, represented the union last year, with the understanding, it is said, that one of his chums was to succeed him this year, but, unfortunately for Casey's friend, an outsider by the name of Judge, announced himself as a candidate. Casey, hearing this, saw Judge for the purpose of having him withdraw, and used the novel argument that Judge was too old to fulfill the strenuous life that a delegate was supposed to lead at a national convention, as he was expected to go out with "de gang," visit houses of ill-repute, dissipate and indulge in other pleasures that their masters practice; and that any delegate that did not follow this rule was practically without voice or influence in the convention. Judge indignantly refused to withdraw and declared that he possessed all the qualifications to fill the bill better than Casey ever did in the past. The union evidently agreed with him, for, at the meeting to elect the delegates, he defeated Casey's Man Friday by an overwhelming vote.

The Political Action Convention met Sunday and baptized the ambitious youngster, "The Civic Labor League," appointed a committee to find out if there were any members who had a vote and adjourned. Rumor has it that they are looking for a business man to head this ticket as a candidate for mayor and the balance of the ticket to be filled by members of the American Federation of Labor. The argument used for this proposed action is that the "dear public" would have more confidence in a "business man" than a federation member and poll more votes of outsiders; but the real reason is believed to be that the fakirs know that it is "ought" that carries the day, and that it is better to be with a man who has the "dough" and be defeated than to be with the successful candidate who is broke.

Nebraska still uses the Bible in the public schools, a recent Supreme Court decision against the practice notwithstanding. This anarchistic disregard of the judiciary is characteristic of the religious upholders of modern "law and order."

are on the right road—the road to social revolution.

Trusting that this report will be of some assistance to you in shaping your opinion of the proletarian movement in California, we remain, with the best wishes to the comrades assembled in convention.

Yours fraternally,  
L. A. 345.  
Emil J. Kern,  
Secretary.  
San Francisco, Cal., November 18.

## IRISH INDUSTRIES

Politician's Remedy for Promoting Them Exposed.

"Above all, it behoves our workingmen to realize the economic truth that they create their own wages; and that the only sure way of finally raising them is by an increase in their own efficiency."

The above remarkable words were dropped by Mr. Horace Plunkett when addressing those assembled for the recent industrial congress at Cork. They are remarkable, in so far that it is seldom the trained political economists of capitalism-like Mr. Plunkett admit publicly what he hereby admits.

The statement contains two things, an "economic truth" in the first portion and an economic fallacy in the second.

The truth is, that labor is the source of all wealth, or, as Mr. Plunkett puts it to the workers, that they create their own wages. But he did not add that their wages only consist of one-third the total yearly produce of their labor, the other two-thirds going into the pockets of the capitalist class, and being the source from which they draw their existence, and accumulate wealth with which to organize and run further industries. This is actually the reverse of the process as it appears to the average worker. It is quite a common thing to hear the observation "we could not get on without the capitalist to establish industries," apparently meaning thereby, that the capitalist is by some mysterious process of nature the originator, possessor of a thing called capital, just as a bee originates and accumulates honey. The real fact the workers modestly shut their eyes to, viz., that before any wealth can be possessed or accumulated by anybody, it must first be produced by labor. When on Saturday an employer pays so much in wages to his employees he is actually in fact giving them a portion of their past week's labor, the remainder going into his pocket and enabling him to extend his field of operation by exploiting more wealth producers. If then, wages are, and it cannot be disputed, merely part of the produce of labor, and if as Mr. Plunkett says, the workers create their own wages, then it is perfectly clear that the capitalist, the non-producing class are not necessary; that in fact the economic and political conditions which allow of their existence are positively harmful, seeing that they absorb two-thirds of the total produce of labor. Capitalist economists like Mr. Plunkett will no doubt hold, that for the proper organization and development of the industries of a nation individual effort and free competition are essential, and while perhaps admitting some of the evils produced through private property in the means of life, will further hold that the capitalist performs the useful function of an organizer or "captain of industry."

Is this a satisfactory apology for maintaining existing conditions? In the days of small production when the employer personally conducted his business this explanation might have appeared plausible, but now, in the days of the limited company and the trust, it has no basis in fact or reason. All the chief industries of the world are the property of joint stock companies and run by a hired staff of workers, the industry may be in Australia and the owners spread all over the rest of the world, or may be in Africa like the gold mines, and the owners who draw all the profit living about Park Lane in London. Then as to competition. It used to be a familiar phrase "competition is the life of trade," but the trust combines are proving that the absence of it means bigger profits, and free competition hardly counts to-day as a factor in industrial development. To have free competition you must have a system of small production. To have a chance in the world's markets you must have a system of large production, because it means cheap production. Then again, that the capitalist is neither useful or necessary is roved by the co-operative movement mainly run by workers, not run on the right lines I admit, but still organized and run without the aid or control of your ordinary capitalist, and what can be done by some workers in this manner can be done by all of the workers acting as the State, and giving their directions through the ballot box.

Some workingmen, while admitting this proposition, apparently see no way out of the difficulty but the establishment of industries by the workers, to compete with the industries already in possession of the capitalist class.

Indeed, at the last meeting of the Dublin Trades Council when the subject was under discussion, I heard a labor alderman in contributing his quota of economic knowledge say, "It will be a long time before the workers can raise sufficient capital to start one of these big industries." What is capital? Capital consists of the land and instruments of production, to put it roughly. By what means did the present possessing class come into possession of these things? Simply by means of legalized robbery. They first robbed the land and made it private property, and private property in other things has grown out of it. The robber class were in the saddle of government and made their robbery legal. Has the worthy alderman to whom I refer any compunction about taking the stolen soil of Ireland from its present owners. Not at all. As they legislated themselves into possession he desires to legislate them out of it again. And quite rightly so. His only mistake is that he desires to legislate into the possession of a more numerous class instead of into the national possession, and thereby abolishing private property in land.

Why, then, in the case of industries

the possession of which by private persons is a national evil, should there be any compunction about adopting the same process? There is no necessity for the workers to establish other industries. The industries that already exist are the produce of their labor, and they have only one thing to do, to vote themselves into possession.

I will now come to the second part of my quotation from Mr. Plunkett's speech at Cork, viz., "the only sure way of finally raising wages is by an increase in the workers own efficiency." This is of course a plea for working class interests in technical education. Now I want it to be clearly understood that I am not opposed to any form of education. Education will in time develop the working class intellectually, and its effect is being felt gradually in the growth of working class independence of thought. But I do most emphatically deny that this statement of Mr. Plunkett's is true and I regret to say, I am of the opinion that he must know it to be untrue. What is it that will increase the workers' own efficiency? Why of course technical education. How will that increase their wages? If Mr. Plunkett had said that their increased efficiency would increase their employers' profits, I could agree, but to increase their wages never. Wages depend upon neither skill or efficiency in any form. The worker is a mere commodity in the market, just like a hat, a pair of boots, or an umbrella. His wages chiefly depend upon how many of his class there are on the market, and how many there is a demand for. If many are competing for the same job wages will correspondingly go down, if the competition is little or none wages will go up, skill and efficiency being the same. In Dublin the wages of a skilled engineer is 34 shillings per week; in South Africa before the war it was about £6, and the cost of living does not account for the difference. The very first object of a trade union is to place a limit upon this free and unrestricted sale of labor; and to maintain a standard price by means of a collective bargain.

What was the origin of technical education? England got the start of the world in manufacturing, American and Continental capitalists saw it was necessary for them to do two things, in order to get level with, or ahead of England. They improved their machinery and set up technical education, to increase the efficiency of their workers. The British capitalists are endeavoring to combat this by increasing the efficiency of their workers and workers should remember that increasing their efficiency does not simply mean improving their skill alone, but also means speeding them up to working faster, in order that their produce in a given time may be greater than heretofore.

Whatever may be the result of this struggle the worker stands to gain nothing. He is merely the instrument, the pawn upon the world's chess board with which the masters carry on the struggle. When the whole working class movement is requested to take an all absorbing interest in technical education, it seems to me like expecting the performing lion or bear to take a deep interest in his performance instead of desiring his freedom. This education will no doubt, be very useful later on when the working class see through the game and vote themselves in possession of their industries, but meanwhile it is more of passive interest than otherwise to them. Technical education will be forced on them by their masters and the general development of conditions, their work lies in the direction of establishing that state wherein the full produce of their labor will come into their possession. In my opinion the improvement of machinery and the spread of technical education will do more to break down trade unions than the law of conspiracy, or the Taff Vale decision. It will reduce skilled trades to the level of unskilled and we are only too well aware of the impossibility of maintaining trade union, or in fact any other conditions the workers want.

But Mr. Plunkett says, increasing their efficiency will increase their wages; and most of the workers take it in. What is far worse, is that leading labor representatives swallow it also—or pretend to do so.—E. W. Stewart in "The Workers' Republic," Dublin, Ireland.

## LIGHT IS BREAKING.

"Every bad tendency will run its course, and Socialism will survive; then woe to the men whose petty interests, mean ambitions and vile intrigues may have for an instant arrested its progress and smirched its name."

Philadelphia, Dec. 18.—Mr. Lucien Sanial spoke here yesterday in the Labor Lyceum at Sixth and Brown streets. It's a great pity that the entire Socialist Labor Party of the nation was not present here. It was a love feast between Kangs and Kanglets. He proposed that the "estrangement" between Kangs and Kanglets should cease, they should come together and unite at the next important election. All the local lights of the Kangaroos were present. Harmony prevailed. Sanial has buried himself completely. The man is dead beyond resurrection. Full details of the meeting will be sent to you as soon as we can write it up. In the meantime—three cheers for the Immortal S. L. P. It is the only organization that sees light when apparently unpenetrable darkness reigns supreme. All the cats are out of the bag now and the Kangle episode is closed. The merger of interests is consummated. The Kanglets, having been licked and nothing of them remaining but a few soreheaded intellectuals, now "join" the Kangs so as to conceal their fenness.

L. Katz.

## TAFF VALE DECISION

Causing Universal Comment—History of the Trouble—Capitalists Exultant.

London, Dec. 21.—Friday's verdict against the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants ordering a strike against the Taff Vale Railway Company in August, 1900, is welcomed by every capitalist in Great Britain. It has changed the whole industrial situation of Great Britain. The defendant society, with its war chest of \$1,250,000 invested in bonds, is deprived of its power of inducing workmen to break their contracts and strike no matter what the trouble may be.

The decision is creating universal comment. The trades unions are disheartened. It is thought they will carry the issue into politics and attempt to overthrow the results of the long litigation. The Taff Vale railway strike began without notice to the railroad company at midnight on August 19, 1900, when more than 1,200 men men quit work. The company asserted that the Railway Men's Union maintained the strike by intimidation and picketing, and that the union officials induced the workmen to break their contracts by striking. The jury, without leaving the box, returned verdict for the plaintiffs, who will collect \$140,000 from the Railway Men's Union.

In the earlier stages of this important labor litigation the argument centered on the question whether a union could sue or be sued. The legal members of the House of Lords, sitting as a final court of appeal decided: "A labor union can sue for wrongs committed, for or against it," as if it were a corporate body.

The railway company then proceeded to try their case against the officials of the union in an action in the King's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice before a jury. The two principal defendants were Richard Bell, M. P., general secretary, and James Holmes, organizing secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants.

The facts which the jury found to be proved as to the conspiracy to molest and injure the plaintiffs in their business included picketing and arrangements for paying money to induce men who had been hired by the company to withdraw without performing their contracts.

The verdict is regarded as the most important since the famous case of Allen vs. Flood, when the final court of appeal held "to induce a person not to enter into a contract with another, though such inducement is offered with malicious intent, does not constitute an actionable wrong. It is actionable to procure a breach of an existing contract."

## ALUM AS A PRESERVATIVE.

Its Use in Baking Powder Claimed to be Injurious to Health.

Dr. Joseph A. Deghnee, Chief Chemist of the Board of Health of this city, in an interview yesterday, referring to the much-used latter-day preservatives, and alum, a substance which, on account of its cheapness, is coming to be used in baking powder, said: "In the first place, I believe that these preservatives and alum are very injurious to health. I don't believe there is any doubt on that point. The amount of injury done at any one time may be slight—so slight as to be noticed but little, or perhaps not at all. But 'constant dropping wears a stone.' A very little at a time amounts in the course of months or years to a great deal. The human stomach will stand much abuse, and it may take a long time to seriously injure it; but once it is seriously injured, it may take a correspondingly long time, accompanied by great loss and suffering to restore it to a sound condition, even if this be possible at all. William T. Sedgwick, in his work on the Principles of Sanitary Science and Public Health, says: 'The sanitarian needs constantly to be warned against the neglect of small and seemingly insignificant factors of disease in the forms of unfavorable conditions, which, by their prolonged action and cumulative effects may produce great results.'"

"In the next place it is impossible, except by means of a chemical analysis, to detect these things in food; therefore people cannot guard against their use as they otherwise might."

"It is known that germs are the seeds of disease, but a person in thoroughly sound health may not be affected by them, while one whose vitality has been lowered, whose digestive organs have been weakened or do not perform their functions properly, is much more likely to contract disease from these same germs, because his vital powers of resistance are less; consequently the sickness and deaths which are attributed to typhoid fever, diphtheria, consumption, etc., may be and probably often are in reality chargeable to preservatives and to alum and to other hurtful things which, taken in the food, have injured the stomach and weakened the system."

"And even if it were not known that these things are injurious, people have a right to know when buying food, what they are getting; and the very least that ought to be done is to compel producers of food products or articles to be used in food to state on the label just what the package contains. The manufacturer who boldly does this challenges the whole world of commerce and science and will have the confidence of the public."



# The Industrial Crisis

AN EXPLANATION OF ITS SOURCE  
AND MECHANISM.

Rising above the song of "Unprecedented Prosperity," that is being sung by the capitalist press of the land, are ominous sounds that betoken an approaching storm. That even in the minds of capitalists doubts and misgivings are arising as to the permanency of "the boom," is shown by the recent utterances of J. J. Hill, the railway magnate. He thinks that there has been too much speculation and says that a readjustment of business conditions is imperative but just how or what will be the outcome he does not know.

J. J. Hill is acknowledged as one of the great captains of modern industry—captains without whom we are told society would go to the dogs. And yet this captain stands as appalled and helpless before the sign of the approaching crisis as the naked savage does before the portents of the approaching hurricane.

But it is not only the misgivings of a Hill that betoken approaching dangers. The spectre of uncertainty is hovering everywhere. From Russia, England, Germany, South Africa, the Philippines comes word of widespread distress—the number out of work increasing while starvation and disease stalk abroad. In order to divert attention from conditions at home England and Germany are making demonstrations against Venezuela with the tacit consent of the United States which is also in need of some such affair to distract attention from problems at home.

Wall street is shivering with anxiety. The recent blind confidence is giving way to an equally blind fear and a general collapse may ensue. Just as despite the thunder and lightning the storm may pass over, so at this time the crash may not come. The countries mentioned may be "getting it first." However, when it does reach here the outbreak will be all the more terrible as it will have gathered force.

While the collective wisdom of the capitalist class stands aghast at the crisis, the Socialist on the other hand knows the source and the mechanism of the industrial crisis and that under capitalism they are and must continue to be a permanent feature of the system.

This convulsion of the world's markets arises from overproduction which in turn is due to the planlessness of the modern system of production. It must be remembered that under the capitalist system production is carried on not to satisfy the wants of society, but for the profit of the few who own the land and the machinery without which modern production is impossible.

Overproduction, in the sense that more is produced than is needed, may occur under any system. But when the producers produce for the satisfaction of their own wants this was not an evil but a benefit. In times gone by if a farmer raised more grain than he needed he stored the surplus against poorer years. At worst it could but spoil.

**Source of the Crisis.**  
Under the methods of to-day no one produces for himself, but for sale, and he in turn must buy what he needs. There is to-day no plan in production. Each manufacturer "estimates" the likely demand for his goods. In the first stages of production for sale, the manufacturer could know his market, which was a local one.

All this takes on a different aspect with the appearance of commerce upon the stage of the world's history. Under its influence, production for self-consumption is crowded to the rear; the individual producers of goods for sale, and to a greater extent the dealers, are thrown for their support upon the sale of their goods, and what is most important, upon their quick sale. A delay in the sale of a commodity, and worse yet, the prevention of the sale, now becomes disastrous to its owner; it may even cause his ruin. Together with this condition of things, the danger of a

block in the wheels of commerce grows apace.

Modern transportation and transmission of intelligence extends the market, into which all manufacturers crowd their goods. As soon as there is a great demand for a commodity in any market it flows there until the market is glutted. Prices tumble and if the overstocking is excessive the consequent losses of the merchants may become so heavy that they cannot meet their liabilities and they fail.

In the day of small production the extent and intensity of crises could be limited. It was not then possible to increase rapidly the total amount of wealth at any one place. Small industry is not capable of any considerable extension; it cannot be extended by the employment of a larger number of workmen. Under ordinary circumstances, it employs all the members of a community that are able to work. It could be extended only by making heavier the burden of toil borne by the worker—lengthening his hours of work, depriving him of holidays, etc.; but in the "good old days" the independent mechanic and farmer, who were not yet crowded by the competition of large production, did not hanker after this sort of thing; and finally even if they submitted to such imposition, it made little difference to production—the productivity of labor was trifling.

This changes with the rise of capitalism; large production. It develops means that enable commerce to swamp any market; it expands the separate markets into a world's market, multiplies the number of the middlemen between the producer and the consumer, it enables production to respond to every call, and extends and increases with leaps and bounds.

To-day the fact that workmen are wholly subject to the capitalist—that he can, virtually at will, lengthen their hours of work, suspend their Sundays, and eat into their night rest—enables him to increase production at a rapid pace. One single hour of overwork means, with the present productivity of labor, an increase of production immensely larger than in the days of manufacture. To-day, the capitalist is in a condition to extend his concern upon short notice. Thanks to credit, capital has become a very elastic quantity. A brisk trade increases confidence, draws money out, and shortens the time requisite for its circulation. But most important of all: capital has permanently at its disposal a large reserve army of workmen—the unemployed. The capitalist is thus able at any time to expand his establishment, to employ additional workmen, to increase his production rapidly, and to profit to the utmost by every favorable opportunity.

Under the rule of large production industrial capital steps ever more to the front, and takes control of the whole capitalist mechanism. But with the whole capitalist mechanism of industry itself, special branches of industry take the lead, as, for instance, the iron and spinning industries. The moment any of these receives a special impetus—be it through the opening of new markets in China, or the undertaking of extensive railroad lines—taking of extensive railroad lines—not only does it expand rapidly, but it imparts the impetus it has received to the whole body economic.

Other capitalists enlarge their establishments, start new ones, increase the consumption of raw and subsidiary materials new hands are taken on; and, simultaneously with all these, rent, profits, and wages go up. The demand increases for all sorts of goods; all sorts of industries begin to feel the industrial prosperity; and this finally becomes general. At such times it looks as if every undertaking must prosper; confidence becomes blind; credit grows boundless; whoever has a share of the increasing profits and rent seeks to turn a portion thereof into capital. Industrial giddiness takes possession of one and all.

**The Crash Comes.**  
In the midst of all this, production has increased prodigiously, and the

originally increased demand in the market has been satisfied. But production does not stop. In the meantime, the disposal of the increased quantity of goods becomes ever more difficult, and grows slower; the stores fill up; yet the hurly-burly goes on. Then comes the moment when one of the mercantile establishments must pay for the goods which were received from the manufacturer months before. The goods are yet unsold; the creditor has the goods but no money; he cannot meet his obligations, and fails. Next comes the turn of the manufacturer; he also has contracted debts that fell due; as his debtor cannot pay him, he, too, is done for. Thus one bankruptcy follows another; the panic grows general and the crash is on.

At such times the whole industrial mechanism is shaken to its very center. Misfortune overtakes not the fraudulent concerns alone, but also all those which in ordinary times managed to keep their heads above water. At such seasons the knocking out of the small farmers, small producers, small dealers, and small capitalists goes rapidly. Nor is it the small affairs alone that are swept overboard; many a big concern goes along. Those among the large capitalists who survive derive a rich booty. During a crisis two important things take place: first, the winding up of the small producers, secondly, the concentration of production in fewer hands, and thereby the promotion of the accumulation of large fortunes.

As few, if any, can tell whether they will survive the crisis, all the horrors of the modern system of production are then experienced in an intensified degree; the uncertainty of a livelihood, want, prostitution, and crime reach at such times alarming proportions. Thousands perish with hunger and cold—wonderful to say, because they have produced too much clothing, food, and other wealth! It is at such seasons that the fact becomes most glaring that the modern productive powers are becoming more and more irreconcilable with the system of production for sale, and that private ownership in the means of production is growing into a greater and greater curse for everybody—first for the class of the propertyless, and then for that of the property-holders themselves.

**Trust Does Not Abolish the Crisis.**  
With the increased concentration of all wealth into fewer and fewer hands, aided greatly by previous crises, the crisis has ceased to be a "periodical occurrence" in the strict sense in which it was so before. Not long ago, one-quarter of the failures that now occur every year would have created public consternation; to-day, a much more swollen and ever-swelling register of bankruptcies passes unnoticed by the public.

It is probably owing to this circumstance, to wit, that the phenomenon of the crisis has ceased to be "periodical," that such uncritical, feudal-brained political economists have declared the trust would do away with the crisis. This is false.

The regulation of production by large syndicates or trusts presupposes above all things their control of ALL branches of industry and the organization of these upon an international basis in ALL countries over which the capitalist system of production stretches itself. International trusts are difficult to organize, and more difficult to hold together. More than forty years ago, Karl Marx pointed out that not only does competition promote monopoly, but monopoly promotes competition.

The larger the profits of a trust, the greater is the danger of an outstanding and powerful capitalist setting up a competing concern to pluck some of the profits himself, and, furthermore, the more business prospers, the greater is the temptation of every member of the trust concern to escape the restrictions imposed by the trust, and to withdraw from it. When prices go down, the anxiety for trustification is

great; when prices go up, every producer strives to improve the opportunity to his utmost, and to throw upon the market as many goods as possible. But this has its limits, and a point is finally reached when the Trust becomes permanent.

The Trust will in most cases fail to check overproduction, the principal mission of the trust is not to check it, but to shift its evil consequences from the shoulders of the capitalists upon those of the workmen and consumers. It is intended to aid the large capitalists in weathering the storm of the crisis; temporarily to restrict production; to discharge workmen, and cut down expenses all along the line, without considerably affecting profits. Within the boundaries of one country, the difficulties that beset the formation and preservation of the trust are very considerably lessened; the trust can and does flourish there; it is different, however, with an international trust.

**International Trust Cannot Abolish It.**  
But let it be assumed that eventually the leading industries shall have been successfully organized into international trusts, under such strict discipline that they will resist the dissolving effect of good times. What were then the result? Competition among capitalists would be removed only one side. The more completely competition disappears among the producers in one and the same branch of industry, all the greater becomes the antagonism between them and the producers of other commodities who depend upon the products of the trust. In the measure in which hostilities cease between the producers engaged in the same branch of industry, they become bitterer between the producers and the consumers.

It so happens, however, that every producer is also a consumer. The cotton mill owner, for instance, is a consumer, apart from his private and personal needs, of cotton, coal, machinery, oil and the other requisites of a cotton mill. In short, complete international trustification would cause the capitalist class to be divided, no longer into separate individuals, but into hostile camps, who would wage war to the knife against one another.

To-day every single capitalist is eager to produce as much as possible, to throw upon the market all the goods he can, because, other things being equal, the more goods, the more profit; only his estimate of the capacity of the market and his own capacity to enlarge his capital limit the extent to which he will produce. On the other hand, when the system of trusts shall have become general we shall not then find a better regulation of production and with that, a discontinuance of the crisis, as some wishwashers of our present social order would make us believe; what we shall find is the general eagerness of each separate trust to produce as little as possible, because the smaller the supply the higher the price. The practice, formerly, and even to-day not infrequently resorted to by merchants of destroying a portion of their goods when the market is overstocked, with the view of securing profitable prices for the rest, would then, in a manner, become general.

It is evident, however, that society could not then continue to exist. If every trust strains for underproduction, all others would strain to force those trusts whose products they need into a state of overproduction. The ways of doing this would be many. The simplest would be for a trust to retrench its own consumption more than the other trust retrenches its production; another way would be to call upon science to supply the want of the article whose production is trustified and retrenched; still a third would be for the trust concerns whose consumption is thus affected to undertake themselves to produce what they need.

Imagine that the copper mines are trustified, that the production of copper is thereby reduced, and that prices are run up. What would be the result? Among those producers whose busi-

ness uses up copper, some will close down and await better times; others will go in search of some other metal that may take the place of copper, and still others will themselves purchase copper mines or promote their sales, and thereby free themselves from dependence upon the "copper ring." The end of all this is the bursting of the trust and its bankruptcy, and then we have another crisis.

The trust does not abolish the crisis. The only influence it would have in that direction would be to give the crisis another form—but not a better one. Bankruptcies would not be at end; the only difference would be that they would extend their spheres; they would not fall upon the capitalists separately, but upon whole sets of them at once, and with them, of course, ruin the large mass whose existence is dependent upon them. Accordingly, the trust cannot do away with the crisis; what, on the contrary, it can do is to bring on such short crises as will be more devastating than anything mankind has yet experienced.

Only when that point should have been reached that all trusts are joined into one, and that the whole machinery of production of all capitalist nations is concentrated into one single hand, namely, only when private property in the means of production shall have virtually come to an end, only then could the trust have for its effect the abolition of the crisis. But, contrariwise, from a certain stage on in the industrial development, the crisis, either in the "periodical" or present "permanent," or in some other and more aggravated form, is inevitable, so long as private property continues in the means of production. It is simply impossible to remove the shadows cast by private property in the instruments of production, and yet to preserve the thing itself.

## CAPITALISM AND CRIME.

Near a coal yard, situated in South Brooklyn an interesting sight offers itself to the pedestrian. A crowd of ragged boys are watching every wagon that turns into Hamilton street, anxiously striving to obtain a few pieces of those valuable black diamonds, valuable indeed they are. Equipped with shovels, bags, small pails, they run after every wagon, some trying to climb up at the back, and, in this way, to throw some coal upon the pavement, while others are busy gathering the booty.

This is an instance of the many cases that are to be seen everywhere. Thus the instinct to commit theft and crime is fostered in the little boys who ought to be receiving a proper education and taught to be honest; yet this system of wholesale robbery on the part of capitalist forces society to rob and plunder in self-defence. And when the poverty-stricken poor resort to crime they are instantly hamed before the law that the big thieves have made. When the workers restrain from a physical uprising and resort to a strike in order to prevent being robbed by the capitalists, then, again, the upholders of this system, a la Baer, will call upon the powers of state to protect the robbing class while robbing the robbed.

Crime is begun from above and penetrates society to the very bottom. Peculiar it is, though, that these very men who have branded themselves before the entire nation and the world as law-abiding citizens will use the most brilliant eloquence to cloak their crime in splendor, while the suffering poor (who do not exist, only around Christmas when the charitable institutions appeal for contributions!) are made to carry the entire burden of this robbery.

What could not have been done in a case like this if a few congressional candidates of the Socialist Labor Party were elected, or if the powers of the State were kept by the workmen and not given to the capitalists?

Speed the day of the Socialist victory.

New York.

TO THE WAGE WORKERS OF  
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of capitalists or a large community of rate-paying capitalists. The political power must be controlled by the working class and the commodity character of labor-power abolished before municipal ownership will benefit the workers.

## Trade Unionism.

It is necessary for the wage-working class to organize. Not only must the workers, it is necessary to organize box, but the workers of each trade require to be united in trade organizations.

As the Socialist Labor Party proposes that the industries are to be managed by, and for the benefit of, the workers, it is necessary to organize the workers of the different trades in order to carry out the Socialist programme. With that in view the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance has been formed. The old trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and the Knights of Labor are based on the following principles:

1. That the material interest of the capitalist class and the wage-working class is identical.
2. No politics in the union.
3. Fight capital with capital through the boycott and strike, on the economic field only.
4. There is an aristocracy of labor.

The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance takes issue with the old trade unions on those points. It claims:

1. That Capitalists and Wage-Workers have Antagonistic Interests.
- The material interests of the capitalist class and the wage-working class are diametrically opposed to each other. That is proven by the existence of a union for the very purpose of defence against the capitalist class. It is not to the interest of the capitalists to increase wages, for thereby profits would be lessened. It is not to the interest of the capitalists to reduce the hours of labor for thereby, too, profits would be lessened. It is not to the interest of capitalists to spend money for sanitary improvements to factories, for thereby, also, profits would be lessened. Nor is it to the interest of the capitalist to provide every man with work, because it is by means of the unemployed that the remaining workers are kept in subjection. Those who are at work are obedient and energetic in proportion to the unemployed ready to supplant them.

It is to the interest of the capitalist class to keep labor-power, a commodity, to keep the wage-system in existence to retain private ownership of the means of production. It is to the interest of the wage-workers to free labor-power from being a commodity, to abolish the wage-system, to establish collective ownership of the means of production. The interests of the capitalist class and the wage-working class are therefore antagonistic.

**2. Politics in the Union.**  
We must have strictly working class politics in the union for the same reason that we must have strictly working class economics. Labor-power will remain a commodity, and its possessor will receive only a wage—a bare subsistence—as long as the political parties of capitalism, Liberal or Conservative, control the political powers of the country. As long as representatives of capitalism are elected, as long as the political parties of capitalism are in control, the police, the judiciary, and the militia, the powers of the country, will be used to subdue the wage-workers. Those fakir leaders of the old trade unions, who claim that the interests of capitalists and wage-workers are identical, and who appear on the platform of Liberal and Conservative parties, and who urge the working class to vote for representatives of the capitalist class, yet who cry, "No politics in the Union," are simply labor Judases. They betray

labor to the power that crucifies it. Their reward is an occasional fat political job.

## 3. Capital cannot be fought with Capital by the Working Class. It must use the Ballot.

The money in the treasury of the union is not capital. The word "capital" is a term used in the science of economics and has a fixed meaning. It means "wealth that is used for the purpose of exploiting the wage-working class." If a capitalist enters a restaurant and buys a meal, it cannot be sensibly said that he is "investing capital." But if he buys a bakery where wage-workers are employed from whose labor he is able to reap a profit, then he "invests capital." The union funds are never large enough to make such an investment, and consequently those funds are not capital. It is impossible for the working class to save a sum large enough to be decently termed "capital." In the United States, where wages are at least as high as in Canada, the working class receives only 17 cents out of every \$1 of wealth that it produces. After house rent is paid, and food and clothing is purchased, how much is left out of which to save? As a rule, nothing. But, out of the 83 cents withheld from the workers, the capitalist class can save more than the entire sum that the workers receive. The working class cannot save capital. They cannot fight capital with capital. They have only too often been starved into submission.

Let us have a union based on the principles of the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance that will have a fund and be ready to defend its members and the rights it now possesses but which will, also, at every opportunity, use the ballot—preferring it to the strike.

**4. There is no Aristocracy of Labor.**  
It is true that there are very poorly-paid workers and others more highly-paid—there are skilled workers and unskilled workers. But one kind of work is as necessary as another kind of work, and it is not sensible for any set of workers to say: "We are above you. Your betterment is no concern of ours." You who speak thus must sell your labor-power to capitalists the same as we do. Like us, you are exploited by the capitalists. If labor is robbed of four-fifths of the wealth that it produces, then those who get \$5 are robbed of \$20. But those who get \$20 are robbed of \$80. We are all bound together by the same chain of wage-slavery. Let us all unite to break it.

The essential fact for all the workers to realize is this: That Labor is robbed of the wealth that it alone produces. It is put in economic terms thus: Labor-power is purchased at its exchange value by the capitalist. But it produces a value that is greater than its exchange-value. The difference between its exchange-value and the value it produces is called surplus-value. That surplus-value, to-day, is appropriated by the capitalist class. It represents 83 per cent. of the wealth produced by Labor. To prevent the capitalist class from appropriating that surplus-value, the workers must become owners of the means of production.

Now, fellow-workers, if you believe that the measures advocated by any of the other candidates will benefit you, do not vote for the candidate of the Socialist Labor Party. The votes of men who believe in, and are ready to support its principles, are the only votes wanted.

REMEMBER  
**"MOZLE"**  
CIGARETTES

# MANIFESTO OF THE S. L. P.

The issues put forward by capitalist candidates sink into insignificance when compared with the social, or labor problem. In the face of this problem it is criminal to talk of changes in the form of administration or in the method of electing aldermen. What we need to consider is: the measures whereby the wage-working class may be benefited.

It is more important to better clothed than to have better street pavements. Sanitary factories are more needed than a sanitary bay. It is more important for you, wage-workers, to make your livelihood secure, and to gain for yourselves the wealth that you produce than it is to reduce taxes of property-owners.

With that conception of the importance of its aim, the Socialist Labor Party calls upon the wage-workers, and upon all other honest persons who agree with its principles, to vote for its candidate for Mayor, Charles C. Woodley.

The events of the past year in Toronto prove indisputably that the position maintained by the Socialist Labor Party is correct. The street railway strike of last June showed in a palpable form that there are two antagonistic classes in society, and that, between the two, there is an irrepressible class struggle.

railway rebelled against the extreme exploitation to which they were subjected. The capitalist owners of the street railway fought to continue that exploitation to the utmost.

That strike demonstrated that the interests of capitalists and wage-workers are not identical. It was an acute form of a struggle that is universal and continuous in capitalist society. The struggle is between owners and non-owners, between exploiters and exploited, between capitalists and wage-workers.

The wealth produced by Labor from day to day—and which rightly belongs wholly to Labor, its producer—is the object of contention. The idle capitalist class, that possesses buildings and machinery that were produced by Labor resist even the poor request of the workers for a "living wage."

Wage-workers, we of the Socialist Labor Party are your fellow-workers. We suffer the same exploitation that you suffer. We face the same uncertainty of employment that you face. We experience the same hardships that you experience. But we have learned that the wage-working class to which we belong can free itself from those hardships, from that uncertainty of employment, from that exploitation.

order to live, you must sell that strength and skill, that labor-power, to capitalists. That labor-power is a commodity, bought and sold on a "labor market." The price paid for that labor-power is called "wages." That price is paid out of the wealth that your labor produces. Wages are ONLY A PORTION OF THE WEALTH PRODUCED BY LABOR. The price of your labor-power is determined in the same way as the price of other commodities. As there are high-priced shoes and low-priced shoes, so there are high-priced labor-power and low-priced labor-power. But the possessor of high-priced labor-power, like the possessor of low-priced labor-power, receives in wages only a portion of the wealth that he produces.

Here, then, is the solution of the labor problem: That relationship of buyer and seller of labor-power, that relationship of capitalist and wage-worker, must be abolished. The workers must lift their labor-power out of the rank of commodities—they must make themselves the owners of the means of production and distribution. As the owner of a factory owns the wealth that is produced in the factory, so, the workers, when they are owners of the means of production, will be owners of the wealth that they may thereafter produce.

To achieve that ownership, fellow-

workers, you must depend upon your own exertions. They who would be free, themselves must strike the blow. The final success can come much more easily, be done—work of enlightenment and organization. The working class must be organized in the factories and marshalled at the ballot-box. To achieve that ownership the political power must be captured.

The political power is the means by which it is protected. Private ownership of land and machinery is a capitalist right that springs from law. The power that guarantees the right of private ownership may at any time withdraw that right. The levy of taxes is, in a limited degree, an assertion of that power. No plan of purchase is then proposed. With the political power in its hands, the wage-workers can decree the abolition of private ownership and the substitution of public, or collective, ownership.

**False Municipal Socialism.**  
No doubt one or more candidates for office will adopt as part of their platform what is falsely called "Municipal Socialism." Falsely, because Socialism implies abolition of wage-slavery, whereas municipal ownership simply means the transfer of franchise industries, like the street railway or the gas works, from a comparatively



# WHO ARE THE UNION WRECKERS?

A Page From the History of Haverhill Shoe Workers That Answers the Question.

Haverhill, Mass., Dec. 18.—Haverhill is the home of the armory building Kanagaroos.

The Haverhill municipal, like his degenerate species elsewhere, counts as one of his shining attributes that he is no "union wrecker," and this, despite the fact that Debs made his reputation as a union wrecker of the first order. If you don't believe it, ask Arthur, Sergeant, Clark, Morrissey, or any of the fakers of the steam railway men's brotherhoods.

The Kanagaroos have always babbled the pure and simple union lie that the S. L. P. was the "union wrecker."

Who lies? Let us see. When in 1893 Carey did his dirty work and broke away from the Socialist Labor Party he took the dupes who followed "Uncle," and together they joined the pure and simple Tobin union of Boot and Shoeworkers, and thereby hangs the tail which is now about to be related.

When Carey and his followers crossed the stry of pure and simpledom, they started to "bore from within." What happened both to the "bored" and the "bore" is a story replete with the truth of the poet's lines:

"They ensnare their children's children when they compromise with sin." It is the story of "boring from within" everywhere, and by the reflection which it casts let us hope that it will illumine the footsteps of the workers, not only in Haverhill, but throughout the nation itself.

Prior to '98—for some time prior—the Haverhill Kanagaroos and their Messiah, the "Armory Builder," who they look upon as an unimpeachable edition of Karl Marx, were violently opposed to the "union," but when they cut adrift from the S. L. P. they made peace with the Tobin outfit, which was then on its last legs.

In June, 1899, the famous Rochester convention of the Tobin union, not of the Kanagaroos—was held, with the result that within the next few months the Haverhill shoeworkers broke away, drove Tobinism out of the city, and started an independent organization, which later spread over Essex county, so far as the turned workmen are concerned.

The cause of this revolt, which the Kanagaroos tried in vain to settle for Tobin, was not that the Boot and Shoeworkers' union, like all pure and simple bodies, was built on a lie, hence a corrupt body. No! it was something entirely different. The trouble was caused by the Rochester convention increasing the dues from ten cents to twenty-five cents per week.

Before the revolt, one Jerry Donovan, used the root as Tobin's trusted lieutenant. Donovan has to be personally known to be appreciated—if he can be appreciated at all. He is a sort of a composite photograph of Pat Dolan, the plug-ugly labor fakir of the United Mine Workers, and greasy Sam Gomper, the slimy "Labor Lieutenant" of Mark A. Hanna. He has the vices of both of them and the virtues of neither. For assuming the risk incident to a labor fakir's strenuous life, this oracle was remunerated at the rate of \$18 per week.

When the split came, "Jerry" was confronted with the proposition of going with Tobin and getting nothing, or of making peace with the "Independents" and saving his skin and the \$18 which he used to fill it with.

He chose the latter course, and was made the walking delegate of the Independent Union.

Shortly after the storm incident to the turnover subsided, Donovan began to plot the destruction of the new union; he was still in league with Tobin and was doing his best to get the Boot and Shoeworkers' union back in the city again. Little by little, he was found out, thanks to the work done by Section Haverhill, S. L. P. and Local Alliance 292, Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, in clarifying the minds of the workmen in this neck of the woods.

He was finally turned down by the Independents, but not before he, aided by the shoe manufacturers, succeeded in bringing back to Haverhill the malevolent Tobin union.

And in this he was aided by the Armory Builders. Carey has repeatedly, in Lynn, Manchester, and elsewhere, advised the shoeworkers to join this dirty union which in August of this year issued a circular letter to the manufacturers begging them to unionize their shops for the reason that the Tobin union "stands ready to take your shop at the existing scale of wages, put in the union stamp and arbitration agreement WHICH ABSOLUTELY PROTECTS YOU FROM BEING FORCED TO PAY ABOVE THE MARKET RATE OF WAGES, AND ALSO PROTECTS YOU FROM A STRIKE OR A STOPPAGE OF WORK."

And Carey advised men to join this weekly outfit. It is a fitting corollary of the "Armory" vote.

Chase, who got a job from Pray, Small & Co., now defunct, selling label shoes, says that he learned his first lessons in Socialism in the Boot and Shoeworkers' union.

But to return to the matter. Since the Boot and Shoeworkers returned hell has reigned in Haverhill. The Independent union had control, or nearly so, of most of the shops in the city. It had raised wages in many instances, and had established a Saturday half holiday the year around, wherever it gained control.

forcing his human chattels into the "union."

Wherever the Independents had to, they went into the Tobin union, but they still clung to their old love and waited for something, they knew not what, to happen, so that they might get rid of Tobin.

Finally, enough evidence accumulated so that the Independent's men in the Tobin organization made a move. They turned down Donovan in the Boot and Shoeworkers' union.

As soon as Donovan was out of a job as agent, Tobin began to make room for him in another way. He was succeeded by a Kanagaroos, Charles S. Woodcock, whose life was short on this job. He did not last as long as Donovan, although he was, if anything, worse. Finally, another Kanagaroos, the present incumbent, Louis M. Scates, the colleague of Carey, was elected, and now they wish they had Donovan.

While all this history was being made the Kanagaroos were trenching themselves in both the Tobin and Independent unions; they were "boring" with might and main.

They thought themselves cute; they made no attempt to put all their eggs in one nest, while Carey advised shoeworkers to join Tobin's highlanders, stating, as he did in Lynn, that he was a member, etc.; he did not talk in Haverhill. Here he laid low and took sides with both unions. He had to, as the Kanagaroos controlled both. Finally, the time came when Tobin made a stand, with the result that a strike is on in the factory of Smith and Childs, the Independents versus the Highlanders, and it took up from the road as though what Gomper said at New Orleans about workmen of the pure and simple kind fighting each other from behind barbed wire might be witnessed in Haverhill as long as the following news item from the "Gazette" of the 6th inst. will show:

"Labor unions clash—More trouble between the S. W. P. U. and the B. & S. W. U. "A second clash has occurred between the Boot and Shoe Workers' union and the Independent Shoeworkers' Protective union, the clash this time being more serious than the first and being an outcome of the first trouble between the two unions. As the result of the controversy the 25 turned workmen at the Smith & Childs' contract shop have quit work, having been called out by Agent Johnson of the S. W. P. U., and the Boot and Shoeworkers' union is advertising for union men to fill their places.

"About two months ago H. E. Lewis took the union stamp, and as the employees at Smith & Childs' worked on these shoes, the B. & S. W. U. contended that the employees must become members of the B. & S. W. U. in order to allow Mr. Lewis to live up to his contract. The S. W. P. U., with which the employees were affiliated, refused to allow the men to join the other union, and after the employees had been called out an agreement was reached between the two unions, whereby the employees who wished might join the B. & S. W. U. Now the officials of each union claim that the agreement has been broken by the other union.

"Yesterday morning Agent Johnson of the S. W. P. U. called out the turned workmen. Later they were allowed to return to complete their work, but today the men are out on a strike. Agent Scates of the B. & S. W. U. said this morning that he had advertised for turned workmen, members of the B. & S. W. U., to fill the places of the men who quit work.

"This brings about a most peculiar condition, one where a union is advertising for men to fill the places made vacant by other union men, who are on a strike.

"Secretary White, of the S. W. P. U., when seen, said that the Boot and Shoeworkers' union broke its agreement in regard to the employees of the factory joining the B. & S. W. U. He said this agreement was that neither union was to try to influence any of the men to join their union, but to leave the matter optional with the men themselves, as individuals. He claimed that this part of the agreement has been broken, and that the B. & S. W. U. had influenced the men. He also claims that Agent Scates told Mr. Lewis that he would take his stamp away from him unless the employees at the Smith & Childs' factory joined the B. & S. W. U.; that Mr. Scates privately interviewed each turned workman with the purpose of attempting to force them into the B. & S. W. U., and that Agent Scates told the men that unless they joined his union they would not shop.

"Agent Scates, when seen, did not deny the charges. 'I did interview the men,' said he, 'and I did tell them that unless they joined our union they would not be given permits. But I did this to protect our men and our union. We do not give permits to members of other unions when members of our own union are idle. All but three of the men involved have taken out applications for membership in our union, and the S. W. P. U. broke its agreement when it pulled out the men. We have advertised for men to fill the places of the strikers, and we expect to get the required number Monday.'

"Secretary White of the S. W. P. U. said the men would not return to their benches until the B. & S. W. U. agreed not to meddle with them, and that they would all remain in his union. He claimed also that the move, which was started last Saturday by the B. & S. W. U., was postponed until after the city election, in order not to stir up the men on election day."

It will be observed that Secretary White of the Shoeworkers' Protective union (Independent) is quoted as saying that "the move which was made last Saturday was postponed until after the city election in order not to stir up the men," which is, no doubt, true. The Kanagaroos, especially Scates, knew what would happen if they attempted this job before the election. These December-

ates knew that the "noble wages" were a scab outfit wanted by bosses, until such time as the turn shoe can be made entirely by machinery. In that way dollars can be saved for the manufacturers, which means that labor will be forced. They knew also that the men instinctively felt this, so their "boring from within" was for the purpose of assisting the bosses to rob the men in the shop.

Assisting Tobin to rob them at the end of the week, while the Kanagaroos, Jackal-like, takes the leavings and robs them of their manhood and their votes.

That all this is true, the following incident will show. In the factory of H. B. Goodrich & Co. the writer was for four years employed as a buffer. The price paid for buffing complete was 45 cents for 80 pairs, the Tobin gang to get me out "organized" the shop, and forced me out January 24, 1902. In order to do so they put in a bill of wages which increased the price 60 cents, hoping thereby that I would join and in that way they could stop the agitation which the S. L. P. and the Alliance was carrying on in Haverhill. But they reckoned without their host. I did not join. I went out. Then the firm put in a new machine and cut the price to 25 cents. This machine the Tobin gang helped to introduce in Lynn, and elsewhere. When Goodrich & Co. took it, they clapped the blinkers on the dupes by submitting the matter to the State Board of Arbitration, with the following result. The below report is from the "Gazette" of December 6th:

"Decides Against Union. "The State board of arbitration has decided against the men employed at the H. B. Goodrich factory and as the result of the board's finding the firm will continue to pay the prices for buffing and "Naunking" that it has in the past. The report of the state board was received today by Agent Scates of the Boot & Shoeworkers' union, although it was known last evening before the report came that it was adverse to the union.

"Some time ago, after the firm had taken the price lists of the union, a new machine was introduced into the factory. This machine eliminated the "Naunking" by doing that part of the work and the buffing besides. The union claimed that the employees should be given an increase over their former buffing prices, as they practically did what two men had been doing before. Agent Scates set a new price and the firm refused to agree to this. After some conferences the matter was finally mutually referred to the state board of arbitration. The board visited this city and listened to both sides. Two experts were appointed, John E. Maguire by the firm and George Evans by the union. This committee visited other shoe centres and obtained figures and conditions in other shops. Their report was submitted to the state board three weeks ago and the report of the state board was based upon this report.

"The state board contends that it found that in other shoe centres the prices paid for this kind of work were no higher than at the Goodrich factory, and for this reason it decided that the local firm should not be required to pay more than other firms.

Agent Scates, when interviewed this morning, said that he had the report in his possession and that it was substantially as given above. He claimed that the company which manufactured the buffing machine established the price for the work and placed its men at work on these machines.

"According to the terms of the contract between the Boot and Shoeworkers' union and the firm the judgment of the state board of arbitration must be taken as final. No more trouble is anticipated regarding the matter."

Things are progressing so nicely for the capitalist class, thanks to the Kanagaroos Tobin, whose vote with that of Skeffington at New Orleans, put the Kanagaroos resolution in the limbo. That the manufacturers have formed an organization and declare "It is not our intention to fight the labor union. We are practically members of the same union."

Below is given the announcement of the local "physic" federation, backed by the Kanagaroos, which was formed as soon as the Smith & Childs' strike took place:

"For the first time in ten years the shoe manufacturers of the city have organized. The matter has been under consideration for some time, and this week the organization was perfected. The members of the organization are the manufacturers who use the label of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, and it is the first time that such an organization has been completed in this city, where its membership has been limited to certain manufacturers.

The purposes of the organization are defined in a statement given out today. Former Senator Samuel W. George will be the business agent and secretary of the association, and he will handle all the details concerning the organization. Agent George will confer with the labor leaders on all questions, thus eliminating the manufacturer from such duties, and his decisions will be accepted by the association.

One fact is emphasized by the association, and that is that there will be no aggressiveness towards labor unions. On the other hand, the association says that it is practically in the Boot and Shoe

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Workers' Union itself, and accordingly will work for nothing but perfect harmony between itself and the union. Agent George will receive a salary for his work. He has already entered upon his new duties.

The statement regarding the association is as follows:

"The question of forming the association has been under consideration for a long time, and the more it has been considered the more apparent has been its needs. Shoe manufacturing of today is not what it was twenty years ago. There is no industrial interest of any consequence to-day but what is organized except the shoe manufacturers, and yet the shoe industry is second to none in importance in this country. The individual manufacturer is compelled to deal with the strongest combinations in existence. Machinery of every description is controlled by a stupendous aggregation of capital, which is able to dictate terms, however objectionable they may be; in fact, all material that goes into footwear is controlled by large combinations and the individual finds himself at their mercy in about every business transaction. It is a well-known fact that during the consideration of the Dingley act every industrial interest was represented except the shoe industry, to see that the tariff was so adjusted with the view of increasing our foreign trade. Since then the foreign manufacturer has been investigating our methods of manufacture, and, as the result, have purchased our improved machinery, and in many instances, have adopted the American method of manufacturing shoes, and it is within the range of human probabilities that we shall find ourselves in direct competition with foreign trade in our home market in the not far distant future.

"There was a time that the Western shoe was unknown, the East produced nearly the entire production of this country, but we have seen within the past few years a large proportion of our business going South and West, and, with the complex questions affecting our trade, increasing year by year, we believe necessity compels us to form an organization with some fixed policy of dealing with present and future problems.

"The purpose of the association is to consider and act upon questions of credit, transportation, insurance, machinery, royalties, price lists, and to guard the interests of its members against unjust discrimination.

"It is not our intention to organize for the purpose of fighting the labor union; we are practically members of the same union, and we purpose to facilitate and harmonize all differences and avoid the conflicts incident to a dozen or fifteen individual manufacturers dealing with a centralized authority separately and alone. It will be our aim to prevent strikes and lockouts and bring our influence to an equitable adjustment of all matters that are of mutual interest to the manufacturer and the wage-earner, as well as the public welfare, which depends upon the success of both."

Former Senator George, the secretary and agent, was seen and said: "I can add but little to what has already been said. 'I understood, however, when I was asked to accept the position of secretary that the association was not formed to bring about a conflict between organized labor and organized capital, but, rather, as a means to bring about a more complete unity of action and to obviate much of the friction that naturally comes from individual action; if it had been otherwise, I would not have accepted the position. I have always believed that a manufacturing industry is one of our greatest institutions which is of mutual interest to both labor and capital, and it is most certainly of the greatest importance to the best interests of every progressive community. If those concerned are rational and act wisely, difficulties can be easily adjusted. One people-to-day are experiencing untold suffering resulting from a conflict brought about by men who apparently had little reason and less consideration for the millions of innocent people who are to-day the sufferers. Life at best is but human experience, and while everything cannot be adjusted to suit every individual fancy, yet if people are honest with themselves and their fellowmen much trouble can be averted, and the less trouble the better for the human family."

The officers of the association are as follows: President—John E. Maguire. Vice-president—Chas. K. Fox. Treasurer—Frank J. W. Bradley. Secretary—Samuel W. George. Executive committee—Charles K. Fox, Munroe Chesley and Edwin F. Lang. In electing a business agent for the association, the manufacturers practically give over all the arbitration to the agent. When the labor unions present a price list or time schedule, the matter is referred to Agent George, and through him a settlement is reached."

The agent of the "Physic" ex-Senator George, is a Republican ward heeler, noted for his hatred of the working class. His life has been that of hanger-on. He is a parasite upon the capitalist parasite, and he can be depended upon to do the working class up brown. He will also put a few extra spokes in the Kanagaroos hub before Geo. Fred. Williams gets ready to attend to the same job. The capitalist class understands the move, without doubt, as the following editorial from the "Gazette," which represents the bosses, will show:

Under an appropriate caption the "Gazette" editorially says about this latest move:

AN ADVANCE SLIP. "The organization of the shoe manufacturers of the city using the union stamp, which was reported in a recent issue of industrial interests at large as well as the "Gazette," is worthy of more than a passing note, and deserves attention from industrial interests at large as well as from the local point of view. In the possibilities which it suggests it points to what may be termed the present ideal of industrial conditions, and if these possibilities be accomplished—and there is no reason why they should not be—these manufacturers and their employees in Haverhill will have established a mark, to which industrial interests in general will sooner or later line up. The organization of the manufacturers, with the appointment of an agent, whose duty, among other things, shall be to meet the agent of the organized employees and set-

tle such matters of dispute as arise, or arrange for their settlement by outside parties, the whole arrangement controlled by a treaty of peace and agreement for arbitration, is a reasonable proposition concerning the business relations of two interests which have a mutual concern in the operation of business. It involves the recognition of the union, which long since has ceased to be a bugbear to the up-to-date employer of labor, and establishes a common level upon which the representatives of the employees and their employers may meet and transact their mutual business. It establishes existing industrial conditions on a firmer basis than has ever before been enjoyed, better even than in the regime of the joint board of conciliation and arbitration, which was wisely conceived and which would have lacked nothing of complete success had the manufacturers of the city as a whole entered into the spirit which characterized the leaders of the movement. The present association is notable in its possibilities. As a combination, merely, it might bode good or evil to the industry of the city, but the outline of its purpose in the initial statement of its members indicates the path which it proposes to follow and to which it is sure to attract other firms. Could the rest of the manufacturing interests of the city fall in line with this movement, including the adoption of the arbitration agreement with the Shoe Workers' Union, labor conditions in Haverhill would be about as near to the ideal as could be expected in these times. As it is, the former establishment of industrial peace in these factories, controlling a large percentage of the output of the city, gives to the shoe industry of Haverhill a guarantee of stability which cannot but be of benefit to the city as a whole, which must attract the attention of the shoe buyers of the country, and which other shoe centres may well envy it."

While Scates apologizes for his scabbery on the 6,000 shoeworkers of Haverhill as follows in the same issue:

"Explained—Agent Scates refers to labor troubles—The B. & S. W. U. simply fulfilling obligations—Organization abiding by its agreement with shoe firms.

"The following communication is self-explanatory:

"To the Editor of the 'Gazette': "For the benefit of those concerned a brief statement of fact relative to the Smith & Childs affair may be of interest.

"After assuming the position of the B. & S. W. U., it was brought to the attention of the local council of that body that in the factory of Smith & Childs persons not members of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union were employed in violation of the conditions upon which the union stamp is granted. I arranged a meeting of the non-members, which they agreed to attend, but, owing to interference by outside parties, they failed to do so. I was then directed by the council to demand of the firm involved, H. E. Lewis (Smith & Childs) being his contractors) the surrender of the union stamp. The firm declared that it would be impossible to surrender the stamp, as his orders demanded its use. In order to avoid unnecessarily embarrassing the firm, I personally interviewed the employees in question and explained to them the situation; the need of a national organization and the benefits to be derived. All but three signed applications for membership. There were two of those signing who said they did so under protest.

The situation then appeared to be much relieved, but a gentleman, acting, he may claim, in behalf of an independent organization, visited the men involved and ordered them to leave their positions and declared that any of them who joined the B. & S. W. U. would be considered unclean. The men left the factory. The B. & S. W. U., in accordance with the agreement entered into with every firm using the union stamp and the conditions accompanying its use, are bound, so far as possible, to furnish workmen for such firms when required, have sought to abide by the mutual agreement between the union and the firm.

"LOUIS M. SCATES. Agent B. & S. W. U." This is the story of "boring from within" in Haverhill. 'Tis the story everywhere. Those who are honest will know that not "boring from within," but "smashing from without," is what is needed, until this scabby crew are laid low forever. Pure and simpledom cannot be "bored"—it is too thick—it must be smashed.

The Haverhill "armory builders," Kanagaroos delegates that they are, chose to "bore," and thus they became the ally of the fakirs, aiding them and their employers, the capitalist class, to rob the wage slaves of that city by fastening upon them this par excellence of organized scabbery. The Boot and Shoeworkers' Union.

In this, like all other struggles, the largest capital must win, the independents will go down, wages will be smashed further, the workers will become apathetic, while the capitalists will gain, and the scabby gangs will still show their lore for labor. When it is over, perhaps, some sense may be manifest amongst those who have been hit, but the Socialist Labor Party and the Alliance sought to save. Let us hope so. This is the story, told as briefly as possible, of how "the class struggle" in Haverhill is being waged by the fakirs and the angels. Who are the union wreckers? Not a Socialist Labor Party man in either union.

MICHAEL T. BERRY.

Illinois Vote.

Collinsville, Ill., Dec. 20.—The secretary of state has just issued the official vote of the State election. It is:

1902. Gottlieb Renner, treasurer, S. L. P., 8,235.

A. W. Nelson, treasurer, S. P. (Kanagaroos), 20,167.

1900. Mahoney and Remmel, S. L. P., 1,373.

Debs and Harriman, S. D. P. (Kanagaroos), 9,687.

REMEMBER

"MOZLE"

CIGARETTES

## BUSINESS DEPARTMENT

### NOTES.

During the week ending December 20, \$38.50 were received for the "Special Christmas Box." Many comrades have written to the effect that the most pleasurable day's work they ever did was the one done for the Party. Remember this fund does not close with Christmas Day, it will be kept open until the end of the year. In another column will be found the names of those contributing to this fund.

The Monthly People has been admitted to the mails as second class matter.

For the week ending Saturday, December 20, a total of 468 subscriptions were received for the Monthly People. Don't forget the fact that a prize, consisting of a year's subscription to the Daily People and \$5 worth of books, to be selected from the catalogue of the New York Labor News Co., will be given to whoever shall send in the most subscribers to the Monthly during December. The following workers for the Monthly sent in subscriptions as indicated:

Jas. T. Noonan, Schenectady, N. Y., 32  
F. L. Brannick, Auburn, N. Y., 26  
J. C. Butterworth, Paterson, N. J., 24  
B. Jacobson, Seattle, Wash., 23  
Henry Warlett, Hoboken, N. J., 20  
S. B. Hutchinson, Grand Junction, Colo., 20  
R. W. Stevens, Baltimore, Md., 20  
F. O'Neil, Pomona, Cal., 20  
G. Lindquist, Hartford, Conn., 20  
M. Lechner, Hartford, Conn., 16  
I. Shapiro, Hamilton, Ont., 15  
Jas. P. Erskine, Salt Lake City, Utah, 14  
C. H. Dana, Pawtucket, R. I., 12  
H. Belslegel, Auburn, N. Y., 11  
Jake Brewer, Hartford, Conn., 11  
A. S. Dowler, Ft. Hancock, Texas, 10  
J. B. Rapp, Utica, N. Y., 10  
Leon Greenman, Boston, Mass., 10  
S. B. Hutchinson, Grand Junction, Colo., 10  
M. Feldman, Bridgeport, Conn., 10  
J. T. Bradley, Woburn, Mass., 10  
M. J. Quick, Saugus, Mass., 10  
F. A. Bohn, Ann Arbor, Mich., 10  
A. H. Hyzek, Cambridge, Mass., 10  
E. L. McCoy, Ryan, Mich., 10  
C. W. Carlson, Tacoma, Wash., 10  
J. H. Shafer, Ogden, Utah, 10  
J. W. Ryan, Lynn, Mass., 10  
N. Hemberg, Jersey City, N. J., 10  
C. A. Coon, Beebe, Mont., 10  
Comrade Julius O. Johnson of Bridgeport, Conn., comes to the fore with an offer of a year's subscription to The Daily People, or Labor News Co. books to the same amount, to the person sending in the most Monthly subs. in the month of January, 1903. The comrade writes that the Monthly is a splendid agitation paper and it must be pushed.

Arrangements have been made with the American News Co. to supply dealers in this city with the Monthly People. New York comrades who have been bawling the fact that we could not send it in the city by mail now have an opportunity to show what they can do with the Monthly. Your newsdealer can get it for you. The retail price has been fixed at one cent per copy.

Weekly People readers will please take notice, that the paper will stop with the expiration of their subscriptions. If you wish to receive the paper without interruption renew your subscription at least one week before it expires. If you let it expire and then renew do not ask for back numbers. All subscriptions begin with the next number after subscription is received at this office.

Several hundred dollars are owed to this office by Party organizations and comrades. It is the same with the Labor News Co. In the annual report, soon to be issued, a statement of such indebtedness will be made, giving names and amounts. Those who do not wish to figure in the reports as delinquents are requested to pay up at once.

The Labor News Co. in order to help comrades who are willing to do a little propaganda work makes the following offer: Seven of the best 5-cent pamphlets for 25c, mailed postpaid to one address. These are the books and the order in which they should be read:

1. "What Means This Strike?"  
2. "Reform or Revolution?"  
3. "Socialism."  
4. "The Working Class."  
5. "The Capitalist Class."  
6. "The Class Struggle."  
7. "The Socialist Republic."

Another combination, is 100 assorted leaflets for 15c. These two combinations offer an excellent opportunity to comrades and sympathizers, especially in isolated places, to interest wage-workers in the class-conscious Socialist movement. Take advantage of this offer now as it is not yet a standing one.

The Labor News Company propose to publish as rapidly as funds at their disposal permit, cheap editions of all the classics of Scientific Socialism, many of which have not been published in America, and must be imported at prices which often prevent their wider reading. A more rapid sale of our publications will enable us to turn our money over and the sooner accomplish this object. If every member of the Socialist Labor Party would buy one of these books as they are brought out, the first and heaviest expense would be met. But do not let the sale be limited to members only.

Hand in hand with the sale of our Party publications should go the sale of clean, wholesome Socialist literature. The trashy stuff dished up as "socialist" by publishing houses, whose sole object is to sell their books and not to educate the working class, can only be driven from the field by developing a taste for the real thing. This is the work of the Labor News Company, and in this you can render valuable assistance.

## Authorized Agents for The Weekly People.

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HARTFORD, MASS.—Michael T. Berry, 12 Arch street.  
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## WEEKLY PEOPLE.

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As far as possible, rejected communications will be returned if so desired and stamps are enclosed.

Entered as second class matter at the New York Post Office, June 27, 1900.

## SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES

In 1888..... 2,068  
In 1892..... 21,157  
In 1896..... 86,564  
In 1900..... 34,191

## SCORE ONE MORE FOR CLASS INSTINCT.

One Major C. C. Townsend of the Royal Artillery (odd, is it not, that military men are increasingly turned upon the industrial field?) was sent to America on a tour of inquiry into our "industrial success." The Major gave his impressions in an article in the "Contemporary." Reporting a "great steel industry" not far from New York, he said:

"Men in this firm are paid by results; and if these results are above the normal the pay rises abnormally. For instance, the usual number of pourings obtainable from a furnace in each run is eleven. By the closest attention to every detail, by incessant and scientific stoking and work of every kind, it is occasionally possible to obtain twelve pourings. The wages earned by the men at the furnace when eleven pourings are obtained are forty dollars; but if twelve pourings are obtained they are eighty dollars. Double pay for one more pouring! And in other branches of work the increase of wages for abnormal output is very nearly as high."

Apprehensive lest his point may not yet be clear; apprehensive lest, at first glance, seemingly ruinously large increased wages for extra production might conceal the point, the Major proceeds to quote the President of the concern in explanation of his methods:

"It not only pays us to know that we are getting a larger output for the same supervision and general expenses, but think of the benefit we get from the increased work of all the men who are striving to earn the high bonuses. AND JUST FAILING. They all earn it occasionally, when everything happens to go in their favor, and that encourages them to strive after it always."

In other words, an exceptional large wage, a bonus, is paid for an output that is so rare as to be next to impossible. Not being wholly impossible, but occasionally possible in the exceptional cases "when everything happens to go in favor of the men," they are kept at a high grade of pressure to reach the lure. Occasionally they reach it. On such exceptional occasions the firm virtually suffers a mulet, having to pay the bonus that is out of all proportion to the regular wage. But what of that? This occasional, exceptional, mulet the sharp President gladly pays. He pays it gladly because, thanks to the lure of the men getting it on the exceptional instances, "when everything happens to go their way," he pockets without pay the CONTINUOUS, UNEXCEPTIONAL increased output of the men in their vain striving to reach the high mark—AND JUST FAILING.

For fendishness of conception, for peridy in execution, this sharp practice on labor transcends all that has yet been exposed. It transcends the fraudulency of "profit sharing" by as much as thimble-rigging transcends plain pickpocketing. Moreover in point of inhumanity, the scheme is doubly-dyed. Men, driven to pursue the perfidious mirage of this bonus—truly perfidious in that it does, once in a great while, actually materialize—cannot but be total wrecks, with "nothing to show for it" after a few years of a chase, so contrived, that JUST FAILING is the rule.

Yet not all the fendishness of the conception, nor yet the peridy in the execution, nor yet the double-dyed inhumanity of the scheme is the most amazing part of the revelation. The most amazing part of the revelation, that part with that is most instructive to the militant in the Socialist movement, is the brazenness of the President of the steel concern in question in glorying in his method, and the shamelessness of the Major of the Royal Artillery in admiring and recommending it for imitation. This is the practical point.

Approach the trumpet on the street who by loud deportment calls attention to herself; remonstrate with her upon the impropriety of her conduct: she will look you open-mouthed in the face: she will take you for a simpleton: that which you complain of is of the essence of her being: it is her living. So with the Capitalist Class. Fendishness, peridy, inhumanity—these are its attributes. As with the strumpet, the capitalist is shameless in his depravity: it is of the essence of his being: it is his living.

Vain is all reasoning against class-conscious instincts. The class instincts that make for social felony can be overcome only by the powerful awakening of the class instincts that make for social virtue.

Up, Socialists, and ring clear the note of the class interests of the Working Class!

## THE CHRISTMAS HEATHEN CHINEE.

The "Consumers' League"—an association of Labor-fleeing philanthropists—and John Wamaker—a "philanthropist" of Labor-fleeing associations—are glowering at each other over the green table of modern society. Their game is not Euclid, but it is a game all the same. It is the game of "Take and Look Holy." But the look

that Bill Nye gave to Ah Sin when the latter put down a right bower, which the same Nye had dealt to his partner, may give an idea, though faint, of the look that the "Consumers' Association" is just now bestowing on John Wamaker at this gentleman's latest card.

The "Consumers' League" wants to introduce better conditions for shop girls, so it says. Does the "Consumers' League" help or at all seek to remove the conditions of which the shop girl's state is but a result? Not at all. If the "Consumers' League" did that, the bevy of bloated beatitudes that composes it would have no leisure to play at philanthropy. They are stockholders, directly or indirectly, in corporations, which is to say that they are beneficiaries of unpaid wages plundered from the working class. The breadwinners of their families being robbed, the girls become shop-girls, and are treated accordingly.

Now, this "Consumers' League," a genuine imitation Bill Nye of Bret Harte's immortal poem, proposed to itself some fun at the expense of John Wamaker, who in turn approved himself an improved Ah Sin, beating his adversary at his own game. The "Consumers' League" demanded that the stores close early so as not to put so "inhuman a strain" upon the shop-girls in this holiday season. That certainly, coming from a "Consumers' League" was but a card taken from a pack that was "stocked, and the same with intent to deceive."

Then John had his inning, and it must be confessed that "the hand that is played by this heathen Chinese, and the point that he makes is quite frightful to see." The left bower he lays down is the "request of his own employees" not to close early (why, of course, in their misery they will make any request their employer may hint at); he follows this up with the ace that "his employees get ample compensation, \$16,000 more for overtime (what capitalist, "Consumers' Leaguers" included, don't squander wealth upon their employees, or are slow in giving figures, provided they are not compelled to show their books? Aren't the coal barons doing that very thing now?); and finally he takes in the trick and clears the deck with the right bower of "The Public."—"The Public," he declares, "demands late closing, 'The Public' can not make its purchases early, 'The Public' must be protected."

Bill Nye's "Can this be?" at sight of the way that Ah Sin played it on him, is surely not in it, with the "Can this be?" that the "Consumers' League" is certainly groaning out at sight of the way that Holy John turned the tables on it:—

Which is why we remark,  
Our language is plain,  
That for ways that are dark,  
And for tricks that are vain,  
The Labor-Fleeer is peculiar,—  
Which the same we are free to maintain.

## SCRANTON, DEC. 17.

The hearing before the Arbitration Commission on the 17th instant partook of the nature of those sky-rockets, that, after shooting up in the air, explode in a shower of stars. Tho' not brilliantly beautiful, as in the instance of the regulation sky-rockets, the fragments of the Scranton-hearing explosion are luminous, and stand out truly amazing against the industrial sky.

At the banquet of the Pennsylvania Society, on the evening of the 12th instant, President Baer of the Pennsylvania coal mines delivered a speech that called forth the wildest outbursts of applause. "Honor," "manhood," "morality" was the burden of his song against the dangers that he perceived to the Constitutional rights of the capitalist class.

On the 17th his coal company submits figures taken from his books to show that the wages of its men were often \$1,460.39 and \$1,481.58. On cross-examination and rebuttal the testimony was proven to be a falsification. The figures given stood to the name of one man in each instance; but in each instance it was shown that the figures had to be divided among the gang that the man named was but one of: in one instance he was one of four, in another one of six.

What a luminous star!

When the Hazleton outrage took place, the Welshman, Ratchford, the predecessor of Mitchell, since then rewarded by the capitalist government with a fat job on the Industrial Commission, palliated the crime of the sheriff of the county, by referring to the outraged men as "ignorant foreigners."

Two miners—Demkhe and Schischack—were now witnesses for the miners, and the testimony of these "ignorant foreigners" drove home the fact of the inhumanly low wages that the miners received.

What another luminous star!

The testimony for the miners showed

that the wages were so low that the little children of the men were obliged to work all night in the silk mills. Upon that Judge Gray suggested, higher wages?—no, more stringent factory regulations against child-labor.

Isn't that a big luminous star?!

But this luminous star was made still more luminous by its twin. It was this: The deputy factory inspectors testified that the accidents in the mines were the fault of the men themselves. In other words, factory laws supposed to be in the interest of Labor, were turned against Labor, and the point was made sure by furnishing Labor leaders with the job of inspecting factories. To put it still clearer, factory laws were passed by capitalism and "enforced" by Labor skates simply to the end of holding the capitalists free from blame.

What a truly luminous star when taken in conjunction with Judge Gray's suggestion of more such laws!

The fiction of the "peaceful blockade" of Venezuelan ports is just exploded. So is the fiction of "social peace" in class-rent capitalist society. There is war between the mine-owners and the mine-workers: there is war between the idle, property-holding Capitalist Class and the toiling, property-less Working Class.

Acts of war constitute war.

Thrown up against the dark sky of our industrial world!

## "CARNEGIE VETERANS."

When a few years ago, the merger took place, now known as the Steel Trust, and thereby the properties, with which Andrew Carnegie's name was identified, lost their identity to some extent, twenty-four of the ironmaster's old lieutenants formed themselves into an association to which they gave the name of "Carnegie's Veterans." On the 18th instant, the occasion being the housewarming of Mr. Carnegie's fine new house in this city, the "Veterans" met, unanimously elected Mr. Carnegie president, and were regaled by him with a sumptuous banquet "around an oval table, decorated with pink roses, orchids and ferns, placed in the dining room, which runs the whole width of the house and adjoins the conservatory, and which the guests reached by marching through a lane of all Mr. Carnegie's servants, wearing Highland costume, the fier with his bagpipes among them playing as the guests appeared."—and more after this style.

There are those who imagine names are fanciful or accidental. Was it a mere fancy or accident that guided these gentlemen to designate themselves as "Veterans," as "Carnegie's Veterans"? Assuredly not.

With Carnegie as the chieftain of the band, and these twenty-four as his surviving lieutenants, war, or, rather, rapine, was waged, and waged long against the Working Class. In the course of this war, or rapine, hundreds, aye, thousands upon thousands of workmen fell. They are to-day under the sod in paupers' graves, or, mutilated in health or limb or both, drag along an existence to-day, much like veteran soldiers of many other wars do, whose distress occasionally appears in print when one of them dies of starvation, or deliberately speeds his exit from the world. These veterans of the war—a class war—conducted by Carnegie went down in the struggle.

The other veterans of the same war—the "Carnegie Veterans"—now share the plunder; and what that plunder is may be gathered from the magnificence of the house in which they gathered, and the opulence of the banquet table.

Nor yet is this all. Not the plunder, merely, enjoyed by the "Carnegie Veterans," nor yet the bare fact of the despoiled condition of those out of whose bone and marrow the plunder was taken, throws the appropriate light on the situation. Capitalist veterans do not plunder merely, they also debase. The monkey tricks to which the Carnegie servants were subjected, as the sweet back-ground or sauce to the plunderers' enjoyment, is, perhaps, the most degrading feature of it all. When man debases his fellow-man he debases himself also. The social structure, in which human degradation is a stone, is itself rotten.

The "Carnegie Veterans" chose their name well—they are veterans in social transgression.

## EVOLUTION IN JOURNALISM.

When "Puck" was started it took the arena as a champion of the workingman, and the distressed generally. Those were the days of its glory. To that period belongs the memorable "Ye Public Be Damned" cartoon, in which the Vanderbilt utterer of the expression was deservedly castigated; and the still more memorable cartoon representing Modern Feudalism—the capitalist knight, armed cap-a-pie and on horseback, doing battle with the workingman equipped merely with the

dull hammer of his trade wholly devoid of protective armor, and on foot, the Goulds, Vanderbilts and other capitalists sitting around the circus, and applauding the Knight's prowess against his virtually unarmed opponent, whom he assails with a terrific lance, inscribed "The Capitalist Press" or something to that effect. Those were the days of the paper's glory, but also of its poverty.

Since then "Puck" has become rich. It did not grow rich by pursuing its original course. Its wealth was acquired by abandoning it. The "development" then started. To-day, "Puck" is abreast of "Judge," which from the start was capitalistic. How fully abreast "Puck" has come of "Judge" may be judged from two simultaneous and recent "jokes," intended to promote the capitalist fraud about prosperity, and simultaneously ridiculing the workingman.

The first of these is from "Judge": In 1905.—Miss Smyth—"I suppose you find many cases of extreme want during your visits among the poor?" Miss Charity Worker—"Yes, I visited a family to-day and actually they hadn't a drop of gasoline for their automobile."

The second is from "Puck": Mrs. Kelly—"Does your husband get good pay, Mrs. Rooney?" Mrs. Rooney—"Well, he would, Mrs. Kelly, if it wasn't for striking so often for better pay."

Privately owned journalism ever develops as "Puck" did, until it grows into that lance, which "Puck" itself once pictorially described as the most powerful weapon for the Capitalist Class subjugation of the Working Class—the capitalist press.

The proud boast is made that "We" will recognize the "war blockade." And who are "we"? Surely not the vast army of workmen whose interest in blockades is limited to those occasioned by the breaking down of the "L" third rail or the trolley system. By "We" is meant the capitalist class who will float the Venezuelan bonds to be issued to pay the allies. With such profits in store why should not "we" recognize the "war blockade" then?

The announcement is made that Germany is anxious to retain "our" friendship in the Venezuelan matter. Like all capitalist classes the capitalist class of that nation would make practical use of "our" friendship; it would utilize "us" as a collecting agency to force Venezuela to pay her debts.

The announcement that the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad will increase its engineers' and firemen's wages \$600,000 a year, is one-sided. To complete it, mention should be made of the intensified toll and attention to duty that will accompany the increase.

The "pauper" patient who died in a Montreal hospital worth \$181,000 was a rare bird. Most pauper patients are what their name implies.

At a banquet of the New York Bankers' Association, the other night, Controller Ridgely advocated elasticity in the currency. Seeing that the bankers believe in the elasticity of honesty and have no objection to stretching the truth whenever occasion requires, there appears to be no reason why there should not be elasticity in currency, so that that may be stretched as need demands, too.

According to some newspapers "A fight to the finish for car reform is now on." Correct. But whose finish? We have just seen a "tunnel franchise fight to the finish," with labor as the one finished. Is history going to repeat itself?

The mayor is writing to the coal roads for information regarding the coal famine. The mayor will certainly get what he wants, if he is preparing a defense of the coal operators.

Senator Hoar's anti-trust measure will be a most comprehensive one, it is said. So comprehensive that it will include the trades union, while making it impossible to proceed against corporations.

The pleasant announcement is made that the operators will mine four to eight million tons of coal more next year at the advanced rate and thus recoup their strike losses. Nothing is said of what the strikers will do to recoup. Perhaps Mitchell can tell.

To judge from the report of the Zionist meeting at the Temple Emanuel the acquisition of Palestine is attended by an accumulation of bad blood. The fur certainly flew.

The American Writing Company is being "readjusted." It has been over-capitalized and cannot pay any dividends though doing a good business. Many trusts will have to undergo the same process. The capitalist class will be lucky if a crisis does not overtake and assist them in the work.

The busts of Demosthenes and Sophocles in the White House should serve to remind Roosevelt that there are heights of oratory and philosophy to which he has not yet attained.

The holidays will soon be over. With their passing will begin the lecture season and the S. L. P. work for the new year. Let all hands prepare to make both a success.

The resources of the earth can be developed and utilized only by labor. And under Socialism the laborers would enjoy all they produce, less that portion required to administer the affairs of the commonwealth, and reproduce without tools. No matter what man-made laws may declare, we are all equal inheritors of nature's bounties. To claim more is unjust, and to take more is robbery. Socialists demand for the people their inheritance, and urge them to take it—through the ballot box, not as individuals but as a collective body.

## LIGHT TURNED ON.

The tone, partly recriminative, partly apocryphic, of the Social Democratic, alias "Socialist" party press, on the subject of a "Union Labor Party," threatens to belound the issue that has forced itself to the fore in that camp. The temptation with us is strong to laugh at the "muddle," and dispose of it with a "We told you so." The issue, nevertheless, is too vital for such treatment. Evidently the disputants themselves are not aware of the significance of what is up among them. If they are not, much less so the on-lookers. Light thereon becomes important.

What is called the "split in the Socialist Labor Party," of 1899, was simply the coming to a head of two distinctly opposed principles of Socialist policy. One set maintained that the Labor Movement was essentially political: it concluded from this postulate that the political manifestation had to be the dominant, and not the economic, important 'tho' the economic was. The other set maintained that the Labor Movement was essentially economic: it concluded from its postulate that, however essential the political manifestation, it was to be the subservient, the economic manifestation the dominant one.

On the one side, it was shown with proofs cumulative that the very nature of the subject matter of the economic organization exposed this to the blunders, aye, to the corrupt manoeuvres of the Middle Class; and that the sick and death benefit features, that naturally sprung up in the economic organization, only tended to render more pronounced the likeness in appearance and conduct between the Trades Union and the small property holder. Finally, the case on this side was summed up with the Marxian psychologic principle of looking only to those who have "nothing to lose but their chains." In view of all this and more to this effect, those who maintained the first principle—never oblivious of the social architectural theory that the Trades Organization has to be the basis of the Socialist Republic—held that the safety of the Labor Movement lay in the domination of its economic by its political manifestation.

On the other side, it was contended that the evils, and even the dangers, arising from the economic organization should and could be prevented by Socialist activity within these bodies. The blunders and corrupt manoeuvres that manifested themselves in them should and could be counteracted, checked and ultimately removed by Socialist effort from within. This policy came to be known as "Boring from Within." Those who sided with it—adhering equally to the social architectural theory that the Trades Organization has to be the basis of the Socialist Republic—held that the safety of the Labor Movement lay in the subservience of the political to its economic manifestation.

This is, but a rough and sharp outline of the issue. It was called the issue on the Trades Union policy of the Socialist Labor Party. Long did the conflict rage within the Party. The former policy gained the ascendancy and held it, and it has continued to this day the policy of the S. L. P. Thereon, the split occurred. Of course, ruptures always are the opportunity of designing men, it is their chance. So in this instance. An "intellectual" cannibal flocked to the seceding side. Obscene political schemes drew it in their vortex, and the issue was submerged. More than once in these columns was the warning uttered not to confound the stream with the scum on its surface, and thus lose sight of the real issue. Yet, momentarily submerged 'tho' it was, it has reappeared, and now in the camp of the seceders, themselves—the Social Democratic, or "Socialist" party. Its present manifestation is the "Union Labor Party" issue. Like murder, the issue would not down.

Freed from all confusing accessories, the central kernel of the "Socialist" or "Social Democratic" party policy is the policy above described of the seceders from the Socialist Labor Party. How true this is, is made manifest by the "Socialist" or "Social Democratic" party attitude in the A. F. of L. convention; its joy at the "big vote polled for Socialism" at the convention; its reliance upon the Wilsons and other such supporters there; its loyalty to Mitchell; its opposition to all denunciation of what the Socialist Labor Party terms "fakirs' crimes and corruption"; finally, its oft-asserted principle of "nominating only Union men on its tickets." This "boring from within" Up to the present, beyond that lies the principle, alone logical from such premises, that the economic must dominate the political manifestation of the Labor Movement. There the two wings part company. The one, with praiseworthy logic, consequently with integrity, says: "Our boring from within means that our ideal must be the going up of our party into the economic movement the moment we have bored to the point."

The other with suspicious logic, says: "Our boring from within means that our ideal must be the going up of the economic movement into our party the moment we have bored to the point." In other words, the latter abandons its fundamental principles, the former strictly adheres thereto; the latter strips itself of all "raison d'être," the former attests its justification to exist.

Whatever the convictions of the Socialist Labor Party, concerning the proper Trades Union policy for the Socialist Movement to pursue, the Party recognizes in the policy it rejects one that must naturally attract honest, tho' untutored, adherents. The Party recognizes that the issue of the two policies is one bound to rise and re-rise, and keep the Socialist Movement divided until the issue is settled to the comprehension of those vast and honest masses, who need "personal experience." No dodge will stand. Consequently, the Party, tho' unflinchingly pursuing the policy it holds right, makes, as all intelligent men must, ample allowance for the fallibility of the human mind. Should experience prove it wrong, then, not with the furred flag and muffled drum of the whipped, but with the colors flying and the drums rolling of those who honestly and firmly helped solve a problem, it

would march joyfully over into the camp that was right, and join with them in an irresistible onslaught upon capitalism.

With no hobby to ride, but Truth as the sole means, and the emancipation of the Working Class as the sole aim, the Socialist Labor Party bails with joy the reappearance of the tactical principle that it combats—now striving for the upper hand in the "Socialist" or "Social Democratic" party camp under the name of the "Union Labor Party Issue"—hopeful that the principle will this turn evolve virility enough to resist being re-submerged by dodging schemers.

That Tafe Vale decision touches the English trades unions in a vital spot. It makes their treasury liable for damages and in this way imperils the existence of their sick and death benefit funds. These funds have been a great source of strength to the English trade unions, as they have attracted and kept membership. With these funds exposed to the danger of legal assault it stands to reason that the very existence of the organizations themselves is threatened; hence the importance of the decision to both capitalists and trades unionists.

John D. Rockefeller's donations to educational institutions precede his raise in the price of oil with such regularity that the announcement of one may be taken for a preliminary to the other. Though the game is worked with such precision the "dear public" is regularly taken in by the philanthropic oil monopolist.

Not more than a year or so ago the newspapers of this country were filled with columns of matter, calling attention to the manner in which American corporations were outbidding foreign ones and securing innumerable contracts to build railroads, bridges, locomotives, etc., etc. During the period roughly mentioned, the foreign corporations have made extensive changes. Consolidations have taken place among them, new technical equipments have been introduced, and American ways and means generally studied, with the result that a change has taken place and American capitalism is no longer able to walk away with all the prizes. Only the other day, a Canadian order for twenty locomotives was secured by a Glasgow corporation in competition with Americans. The designs provide that the locomotives be built on American lines, too. Thus we have the beginning of the reaction against American capitalism that will result in that capitalism perfecting all its forms to an ever greater degree: a perfection that can only result in a still more intensified form of exploitation for the American working class than that at present in existence.

The farmers in three counties of Nebraska have issued a call for a State meeting to discuss combination of all the farmers' co-operative societies in the State. This move is made necessary by the competition of powerful capitalist interests in the line elevators. The move is a significant one. It shows that the farmer cannot escape the most powerful tendency of the age, viz., concentration; and that agriculture, as well as manufacture, must fall behind the band and move along with the procession. Your isolated and provincial farmer is fast becoming a thing of the past, as is his hide-bound conservatism. The day will surely come when the capitalist revolution in agriculture will wipe it out entirely.

The announcement that sealskins are commanding big prices in London, is not apt to create consternation in the mind of the laborer who is wondering where he is going to get the price of his next pair of overalls from.

The discrepancy in wage figures given by the miners and the mine operators is an old story. The capitalist class may be relied on to prove the old saying that "Figures never lie until liars get hold of them." They're old hands at the game as the analysis of census figures has repeatedly shown.

The United States Steel Corporation (the Steel Trust) has bought another plant at Breaker Island, N. Y. It is also said to be after other powerful independent companies. Evidently the trust wants the field to itself when the crisis comes. It will then need all the business going.

The threatened strike of the mail wagon drivers is a concrete instance of "State Socialism," that is, government ownership in the interest of the capitalist class. True Socialism, in the interests of the workers, will have none of that.

The Medico-Legal Society had a meeting the other night at which two lectures were read by title. If many a capitalist "work on economics" were read in the same manner the tired brain of society would be saved the burden of much mental rubbish.

It must be highly gratifying to the Peace Societies to read the Secretary of the Navy's recommendation that Congress authorize the building of ships that will take their place in line of battle against the most powerful ships in any foreign navy. It shows the progress of peace ideas.

The Salvation Army is panhandling as of old. Its aim is to keep the capitalist pot boiling and to perpetuate the system which keeps the capitalists' dinner pail more than full.

There are natural differences in human beings—in their physical strength, intellectual capacity and moral character, but there is no difference in their right to equality of opportunity. Each person is entitled to the full enjoyment of opportunity by virtue of the fact that he or she is a human being. The air, the water, the earth—its mineral riches, with the natural products of the soil and the sea, are the right inheritance of every child born upon this planet. The benefits of the accumulated experience of all the ages belong also to every human being, limited only by the capacity to enjoy. Socialism is equality of opportunity to produce and enjoy.

REMEMBER  
"MOZLE"  
CIGARETTES



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN. — How wonderfully better is our own free country than those European prison pens!

UNCLE SAM—Do you mean that the prisons in Europe are better than the prisons here? Guess that's so.

B. J.—No; I didn't mean that. I meant that the European countries are in themselves prison pens, while here the country is free.

U. S.—That's putting it strong. What have you on your mind?

B. J.—I have the military system on my mind. I have just been reading an article on the military barracks of Europe. Over a million men are there permanently under the stern military thumb. I don't see how the people can breathe in such countries.

U. S.—And here we have no such barracks?

B. J.—No; here we have absolute freedom.

U. S.—Did you ever visit a factory in this country of ours?

B. J.—Often.

U. S.—And our mines?

B. J.—Also.

U. S.—And our shops?

B. J.—Why, yes.

U. S.—Are the people who work there not held down to a strict military discipline?

B. J. looks skyward.

U. S.—Are they not there placed in rank and file, made to move at command, kept silent under penalty of fines, ordered about?

B. J.—They are.

U. S.—Will you tell me what difference you see between these factories and those barracks? Are not these factories essentially barracks?

B. J. looks earthward.

U. S.—They are six of one, half a dozen of the other, eh?

B. J.—Coming to think of it, 'tis so.

U. S.—Well coming to think of it, 'tis not so.

B. J.—How?

U. S.—These factories, shops, mines, etc., in which our workers in America have to spend their days are worse than those of European barracks, that oppress you?

B. J.—Worse yet?

U. S.—I'll let you answer the questions yourself. You have been reading upon those European barracks, haven't you?

B. J.—I have.

U. S.—Did you ever read of women huddled in them?

B. J.—Women? Why, no!

U. S.—Did you ever read of young girls kept there?

B. J.—Never.

U. S.—Did you ever read of children, little tots, put there to work?

B. J.—Why, No.

U. S.—Now, turn to the right about and look at OUR barracks. We call them here "factories," "shops," "mills," "mines," and what not. Are you looking at them closely?

B. J. has a distant look.

U. S.—Don't you find women there; lots of them, some doing hard man's work?

B. J. gives no answer.

U. S.—Look close; don't you find there girls at unseemly work?



## CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear under pseudonyms are asked to send their own signatures and addresses. They will be recognized.]

## Mr. G. Sustains His Reputation.

The Daily and Weekly People.—Saturday morning the theatre known as Mrs. O'Connor's Playhouse, in Forty-fourth street, Fifth Avenue, became for the time being Sam Gompers' Playhouse. The stage was set as a room decorated in the Renaissance style, and furnished with gilded furniture in the style of Louis XVI.

When Gompers arose he faced an audience the majority of whom were class-conscious capitalists, such as Debs, several years ago, addressed at Delmonico's, nearly.

His chairman before introducing Gompers stated, at the suggestion of the speaker, he would announce, that questions would be answered at the close of the address.

So Gompers started to tell a little of what he knew about strikes, which he evidently considers the only weapon with which the workers are equipped.

He stated that he deprecates strikes, and favors negotiation and conciliation in order to bring about fairer conditions to the workers.

He took the stand that the best way to prevent war is to be ready for war. As illustration, he spoke of a regiment of militia which, just before the outbreak of the war with Spain, voted that in case war was declared that they would disband the regiment (great applause on the left at proposed disbandment).

This gave Gompers the tip that a few of the undesirable red button people were waiting for him to finish.

He then stated that 50 per cent. of strikes were won by gaining official strike for.

And that 25 per cent. gain much of what they struck for. As regards lost strikes, he said there is no such thing as a lost strike. Had those people not struck it stands to reason that their wages would have gone lower, so by striking for a raise they lost the strike but won a reduction.

He spoke also of men who went on strike for a raise from \$2 per day to \$2.25 per day.

Men getting higher wages will not take their brother's job, but men getting lower wages, or those unemployed, will take the jobs of those on strike; so you see how these men receive a benefit and are thus elevated.

But the unpleasant feature was that the men who went on strike would have to accept the lower wages of the men who took their places or else become of the unemployed.

Gompers then stated that he had worked a quarter of a century at his trade as a shoemaker, and that in that trade, where men and women do equal work, they are paid an equal wage.

He then asked the audience if there were any women present who were wage earners? At which a laugh passed through the audience.

He hoped the ladies present would impress on their families that they should spread the notion that working girls should belong to an organization to maintain a fair standard of wages. He closed by an appeal for the Declaration of Independence, the Brotherhood of Man and the Golden Rule.

The chairman then announced (probably at the suggestion of the speaker) that as it was rather late there would be no questions answered, but if any one wished to see the speaker and have a chance or interview, why Gompers could be seen in one of the opera-boxes.

And thus Mr. G. sustained his name.

The capitalists present saw that there was something in Gompers' style of organization of which they need be afraid, and they will rest as easily as they did after Eugene Debs had addressed them a few years ago.

The few workmen who were present felt taken seriously as a representative of the working class. C. C. New York City, Dec. 16.

## The Brooklyn "Victory" in the Light of the Election Returns.—The Union Label.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The Union Label is a monthly magazine "devoted to the interests of the employer and employee, and the advancement of the union label movement." This statement appears in the title page, which shows plainly that the publishers are ignorant of the irrepressible class struggle. However, as it is a "labor publication," it played a prominent part in the Brooklyn city election, and endorsed the municipal ticket of the "Socialist" (formerly known as the Democratic Socialist) party.

On page 2 we find the following statement: "In the common council we expect a good many union men, and as long as they carry a card we wish them luck, be they Republicans, Democrats or Socialists."

This proves that it is a capitalist and not a working class magazine, but on page 3 it gives its unqualified endorsement to the "Kangaroo." The candidates on the Socialist ticket are all union men, and five out of the seven candidates for aldermen are delegates to the Central Labor Union.

So it is plain to be seen that the leading "union" in the "American movement" are labor fakirs, and as Brooklyn is a "union" city, it is evident that the "Socialist" victory is the result of a compromise with the ward bosses of the Democratic party. But, the "Republican" candidate for mayor, who was elected in 1901, he did one year ago, and he was elected in 1901. He also was a laborer, and the Republican candidate for governor, at the State election, was a laborer, and the Democratic candidate for mayor, fell way behind the vote polled by the labor ticket at the State election, and only polled 533 votes for mayor, while the "Socialist" candidate for mayor, who was the candidate of the same party, polled 1,000 votes.

Question 2.—Did you stop to consider that an "executive" of at least twenty-one members is too large for an executive and too small for a deliberative body?

Now, at I really considered was that the National Executive Committee, regard-

less of its name, is, in fact, both an executive and a deliberative body. It always requires due deliberation in order to execute in the best possible manner. I believe, as I said in my other letter, in last week's Weekly People, that a larger N. E. C. would be more representative of the party's interests; and I may add that I believe that, on the whole, that "at least" twenty-one members would do the work better and more satisfactorily to the party membership. I have said "at least twenty-one members," not that I wish to lay any particular stress upon the number 21. Possibly thirty or thirty-five members would be still better. "At least" I am inclined to think so.

Granville F. Lombard.

Rutland, Mass., Dec. 13.

Troy's Rotten Social Democracy.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—In the fall of 1899, William Nugent, now organizer of the Social Democratic party in Troy, and Charles Gasser, at present, a member of said party, did sign a nomination certificate placing Daniel E. Conway, candidate of the Progressive Democrat and Republican parties for Mayor, in nomination for Mayor of the city of Troy on the Socialist Labor Party ticket.

Nugent and Gasser never were members of the S. L. P. They afterwards joined the Social Democratic party. Nugent is their local stump speaker.

Some time ago at a public meeting, held in City Hall, and addressed by the Rev. Vall, the question was asked of Nugent in my presence by a member of the S. L. P., what became of the \$25.00 received for doing that job? He said the boys needed the money. For a long time it was on the end of everybody's tongue, who knew the members of the S. D. P., that the job was to pay \$100.00, but as we killed the game by having their certificate thrown out by the county clerk, they only received the first instalment. The rest is supposed to have gone to pay headquarters rent for S. D. P.

When I asked one of their members why they permitted their hall rent to be paid by the Progressive Democrats, he promptly answered that their rent was \$15.00 per month and they would be very glad to have any one pay it for them.

I put the above statement to Nugent, but he was on the stump. He told his audience to pay no attention to me, that I was crazy; but as the audience knew I was frank enough to admit that he did sign the certificate, placing Daniel E. Conway, a Democrat, in nomination for Mayor of Troy on the S. L. P. ticket; but he said at that time he knew nothing of Socialism. He knew, though, he was not a member of the S. L. P., nor could he ever become one.

The statement I make about the Progressive Democrats, now the Regular Democrats, paying the S. D. P. hall rent is notorious. If I have had one I have had fifty people make the statement to me. The above may appear ancient, but nevertheless it points a moral.

The Kangaroos have never denied the above statement. They knew all along what Nugent and Gasser were doing at the time they took place in the meetings, in my presence, they denounced it and one of their staunchest members, Henry Vitalis, said they would never countenance such an act. Why they did they permit Nugent and Gasser to join their organization and make Nugent their organizer? Why?

The S. D. P. of Troy, like everywhere else, is made up of freaks and fakirs, moral degenerates, etc. etc.

It is a good thing for the S. L. P. that the S. D. P. exists. All the riffraff that floats around during the present social upheaval, must find a landing place there, and in so doing clears our path of rubbish, which otherwise would bother us.

If we had done the correct thing we would have put Nugent and Gasser behind the bars. The offense is a criminal one. It was an attempt to rob an officially recognized political party of its rights to put its own candidates in nomination. Can one imagine a political party standing on such ground calling itself a Socialist party, and appealing to the suffrage of the working class? Well, it is just as Comrade Basommo says; Nugent is worse than a Judas. Iscariot, when he found he had sold his master out, had the common decency to hang himself; but it is otherwise with Nugent. After his attempt to sell out the workers for twenty pieces of silver he comes back like Carey, of Haverhill, and all the S. D. P. and says to the workers: "I am your friend representing your interest. I defend you." We have charged them on the stump with the above on every occasion possible, but never a denial.

When the S. D. P. make the crack that the voters of Rensselaer County voted the S. L. P. ticket by mistake, it sounds funny. The voters of Rensselaer County were well aware of the crookedness of the S. D. P. and voted our ticket, conscious of the fact that we never compromise the truth to make a friend.

Nugent tells the workers that the S. L. P. is a scab organization and that the S. D. P. supports the trades unions. He is a painter by trade and works at it and is not a member of the Painters' Union, and then has not got the common decency to join it in support of his talk.

This communication may be called "Another Daily People Lie," but it is true just the same. L. A. Boland.

Troy, N. Y., December 10, 1902.

Freezing Out Chicago Laundry Drivers.

S. L. P.—Proven Right Once More.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—I was informed by the president of the Chicago Laundrymen's Association, Mr. Rice, that it was they who organized the Laundry Workers and Drivers Unions. He said in part: "It was we who organized the Laundry Workers and Drivers Unions. It cost me personally one hundred dollars to organize them. I am the president and business agent of the Laundrymen's Association. I have an office down-town, where I meet with the Arbitration Committee."

"In case of any trouble we compose Laundry Drivers and Express Drivers I asked him: 'What was the object in organizing their employees?' He answered: 'You see we recognize their unions and with their assistance we business agents of the Laundry Workers, our association to come in. We are about ninety-five per cent. strong just now, and they are coming in right along.' (Then he let the cat out of the bag.) 'In

about three months we are going to pass resolutions to freeze out the commission drivers altogether. We pay them from forty to fifty per cent. on a dollar for their work. Some of them have one hundred or more dollars worth of trade in a week, which means about \$40 for them. We'll probably offer them about \$15 a week and have them work for wages."

Now this again proves that the Socialist Labor Party is right in calling the pure and simple trades unions fakir organizations. It will be interesting to hear the labor fakirs and Rice preach "harmony" to the poor dupes.

Felix Hanzl.

1322 South 41st Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Pure and Simpler Subscribe for The Monthly.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Enclosed please find postal order \$4.20 for one year's sub. to weekly and thirty-seven subs to the monthly. Credit me with twenty-six and H. Beisiegel with eleven.

Out of seventy-eight subs I have sent you so far this month fifty-three of them will go to pure and simpler of the machinists and metal workers' union.

I am sorry to see the exhibition of laziness on the part of a great number of our comrades to hustle for the monthly.

P. L. Braunick.

Auburn, N. Y., Dec. 15.

To Strengthen the Fighting Arm.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—I send you \$4 for the Christmas Box, knowing that to give strength to the "fighting arm" of the Socialist Labor Party is every one's duty who has at heart the building up of a class conscious organization. Cost of living having gone up some 30 per cent., without any raise in prosperity (wages), I believe now is the time to make all the propaganda possible. No compromise and no lagging behind is the motto of yours for Socialism in our time.

G. G. Anton.

Philadelphia, Pa., Dec. 17.

P. S.—We must sacrifice a little in order to hasten the emancipation of our class.

Praises the Tendency of the Socialist Labor Party to Hold His (the "Socialist") Party Down to the Class Struggle.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Kindly find enclosed a postal money order for \$1 to extend my subscription to The Weekly People for a couple of years.

I am a Kang, but I am proud to say we have here escaped most of the corruption credited to our party in various sections of the country. On account of the labor union Democratic confusionists in this section, our membership are almost without exception class conscious revolutionary Socialists.

I was glad to see your fighting S. L. P. do so well the last election, as it has a powerful tendency to hold our party down to the class struggle. Yours for success.

T. G. Kennedy.

Mullan, Idaho, Dec. 11.

A "Solemn Protest" in the Interest of Capitalism.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Enclosed clipping of the Richmond, (Va.) Times is an editorial eulogium against "Compulsory Education."

The bill in question provides that parents and guardians of children between the ages of eight and sixteen shall keep them at school for at least sixteen weeks each year. For any violation of the law each parent or guardian shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and fined \$1 for the first offense and \$5 for each subsequent offense. The children may, in the discretion of the parents or guardians, be placed in private schools instead of public schools.

This bill will interfere too much with child labor and, therefore, it will be ignominiously defeated.

H. Adolph Muller.

Richmond, Va., Dec. 16.

(Enclosure)

"Compulsory Education."

"We are sorry to see that a bill has been introduced in the house of delegates to compel parents to send their children to school. Everybody knows that the Times is in favor of education. We have done what we could to advance the cause of popular education in Virginia, and we should like to see every child at school for at least eight months in the year. But when it comes to forcing parents by law to send their children to school and fining them when they do not send them; when it comes to sending a police officer around to the homes of the people to take their children out and march them off to school in defiance of the wishes of the parent, we enter our solemn protest. We do not believe that the liberty-loving people of Virginia are ready for any such autocratic measures, and we hope that the bill will be defeated by an overwhelming vote."

AIMED AT SOCIALISTS.

German Reichstag Passes New Rules To Limit Speeches.

Berlin, Dec. 20.—The Socialist members of the Reichstag held conferences daily this week over the position in which the party is placed by the new rules. Since the creation of parliament the Socialists could say anything in the house that they pleased, as all utterances were privileged and not subject to attack under the lese majeste or sedition paragraphs of the penal code, so that, during the long years of severe repression, the Socialists were always able to express their opinions freely, and the Reichstag printed and their speeches.

While such privileges are not impaired, the opportunities of taking advantage of them under the new rules are limited. At the pleasure of the majority, it is possible to introduce and pass any measure in two days, the rules providing that a day must elapse between the second and third readings of bills. The Socialists fear that the majority will change the election machinery or adopt a measure on the eve of the general elections that will limit free agitation. The Socialists have not yet decided on a policy to follow.

The majority in the Reichstag will, in all probability, limit the debate on the budget, hurry it through, and dissolve the house for the elections in April.

W. W. E., SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH.—Whatever Labor has to pay in order to live belongs under the head of the value of Labor-power. Along what line of argument would you place rent under "surplus value," any more than the \$1 the workman may pay the capitalist class for the shirt he wears?

J. E. C., PRESTON, WASH.—What you must do is to hand over to your Judge a copy of the leaflet "Socialist Labor Party vs. Social Democratic Party." That will serve as a complete reply to the answer of the "Seattle Socialist" that the S. L. P. is simply vituperative, and that that is the difference between the two. Moreover, do you remember the letter from Haverhill, Mass., published in these columns challenging the editor of that "Seattle Socialist" to prove his slanders? He got a copy of it.

## LETTER-BOX

Off-Hand Answers to Correspondents.

[No questions will be considered that come in anonymous letters. All letters must carry a bona fide signature and address.]

J. M. EVERETT, MASS.—The last of the three citations that you make from Marx "Value, Price and Profit"—the first resolution at the end of his address—sums up, we surmise, the point you have in mind. If our surmise is right, did you not find yourself answered in the Letter Box of the Daily for November 30 (Weekly of December 6) to "J. D. A. Spokane, Wash."? He takes up the identical point. Did you overlook the answer to J. D. A.? We here reproduce it:

"A general rise in wages, unaccompanied by a general rise in prices, would result in a fall of profit. Keen as was Marx's penetration in the evolution of capital, he failed to perceive that 'complete trustification of industry' was a possibility. He said: 'Competition breeds monopoly, monopoly breeds competition.' This is true at a certain stage; but becomes less true at every further stage. This error of Marx is like that great one of Aristotle's, as to why slavery could never be abolished. In either case these great men gave us in hand the key with which to avoid their error when the time came. Accordingly, when Marx said: 'A general rise in the rate of wages will result in a fall of profit,' he overlooked the possibility of our premises, 'a complete trustification with the resulting power of the capitalist class to raise the price of commodities.' In the measure that concentration of interests takes place in the capitalist class it can, by raising the price of commodities, prevent the 'fall of profit,' which would otherwise follow upon the rise of wages. But note. In doing this, the capitalist class would be acting in strict obedience to the law of exchange value. Given the capitalist system, if you raise the price of one commodity, the price of the others needed for its reproduction is bound to be proportionately affected."

C. Z. PEEKSKILL, N. Y.—Shall return the circular. It looks as if Gompers had written it himself.

J. A. S., ELKHART, IND.—No one, more so than the Socialist Labor Party, desires "all the factions to be brought into one harmonious organization." It is for that reason that the S. L. P. accentuates the differences between them. Only by such a course can the correct theory or practice, wherever it may be, be ascertained. Harmony implies unity.

E. H. L. RACINE, WIS.—Place not your reliance on oratory. The classic story is told of Cyrus that, being importuned to harangue his army on the point of battle, declined with the remark: "Men do not become valiant and warlike upon a sudden, by a fine oration, any more than a man becomes a good musician by hearing a fine song." This Cyrus had "intellect into him."

The working people must be drilled with knowledge. Knowledge alone is one and identical. People affected one way by one oration, will be affected another way by another oration in the opposite sense. "Class consciousness" is not a mere theory; it is a practical thing.

T. W., CHICAGO, ILL.—Those are all very pretty turned phrases. Now, come down to facts. The fact is that your "Chicago Socialist" used to have, printed on its front page, with a blue border around it, the "Trades Union Resolution of the Indianapolis Convention," in which the passage occurs pronouncing the pranks of pure and simpledom "a noble waging of the class struggle." And the further fact stands that the paper dropped that resolution, border and all, immediately upon the cowardling it got from The People for its foot-in-the-mouth appearance, in having such a resolution almost in parallel columns with an article denouncing the political attitudes of the Chicago Labor Leaders as fakirism.

M. L., NEW YORK.—The history of those claims would be funny enough for Puck. Here is one. It was made by a foreigner against Venezuela. He claimed damages in \$150,000 for hides destroyed during a revolution. The claim was pushed and almost led to trouble. After fifteen years, the Mixed Board appointed to inquire into the matter and other claims dismissed that one. In the inquiry it was shown that the claimant had just one hide; that he had stretched it out to dry in his yard; that no conflict of arms took place within ten miles of his village; that during that particular revolution, just one squad of 200 men had marched through the place without firing a shot; and finally that the claimant himself, with a revolver, shot holes through his hide—the hide which he had been holding up as a sample. The claimant was a Connecticut Yankee.

J. F. V., VALHALLA, N. Y.—The right of everyone to a share of the earth's surface is one of those rights that humanity is robbed of, and will continue to be robbed of, so long as humanity has either an admiration for successful brutality, or can only seize a fractional truth. Man is the heir, not of the land only, but of all the social conquests of his predecessors. He is entitled, not only to the land (natural opportunities), but to the capital (social opportunities) also. To deny his right to the latter, is to grant the principle of piracy. Now, a wrongful principle cannot be granted, and then expect to succeed in removing one of the evils of the principle. That's the rock on which bona fide Single Taxism went to pieces.

W. W. E., SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH.—The first appearance in New York City of the Social Democratic party was in the campaign of 1900. Before that, immediately upon Debs' Handed Hall speech, Chicago, June, 1897, where he started the colony scheme, styled "Social Democracy," there was started an organization of that colony scheme in the Jewish quarters of this city, and in the campaign of 1898 that organization set up a ticket in three assembly districts. Owing to this circumstance it is sometimes erroneously said that the present Social Democratic party started here in that year. The opinion proceeds from a superficial observation of events. What there was in 1898 was that colony affair. There was no Social Democratic party in sight in New York city in 1899.

M. N., BUENA VISTA, PA.—Can't view

Never answered.

M. E., CHICAGO, ILL.—At the time when protection and free trade were an issue in England, D'Israeli campaigned in a way that nobody could tell on what side he was. The London "Punch" portrayed the fact in a cartoon where on a table, surrounded by burly sculces, a queer-looking animal with D'Israeli's head lay on a dish. On the scales of the animal was the fractional lettering "Pr." "Fr." "Tion." "Tr."—broken sounds of "protection" and "free trade." There isn't a politician to-day, who could not be similarly caricatured on the pro and anti-Trust question. It is natural. Standing on capitalist ground, no valid principle can be invoked against the Trust; and standing out for election, the politician dare not express himself clear as a pro-Trustist.

J. O. F., ABINGTON, MASS.—The editor of the "Rockland Independent" makes a sad exhibition of himself in the discussion with you upon the genuineness of that quotation from Edmund Burke:

First. In the first place to her applies the story of the man who claimed he had caught a lobster weighing a hundred pounds and who took up a bet that he would produce the said lobster, but, who, instead of the lobster produced an affidavit. The referee decided that affidavits are not lobsters. When called upon to produce the passage from Burke, your "Rockland Independent" now produces someone else's—one John D. Marston's—quotation from Burke. Every sane man will dismiss the proof with the observation: "Mr. Marston is not Edmund Burke."

Second. Moreover the passage that Mr. Marston produces in quotation marks, as taken literally from Edmund Burke, bears, to every intelligent man, internal evidence of being a falsification. The expression "the government of State Socialism" which appears in the body of the alleged quotation from Burke, could no more have been uttered or penned by Burke than he could have uttered or penned the expression "Edison Phonograph," and for the same reason: neither of the expressions was known in Burke's times. To impute either to him is an anachronism.

B. T., DETROIT, MICH.—Take a good view—front, side and rear—of the so-called Socialist party (Social Democratic) leaders. Can you fail to perceive the similarity of their stagger to the stagger of the labor fakir? As the latter, so may the former have started with honest intentions. But in the one instance, as in the other, the burden, the social question, was more vigorous than the shoulders that sought to bear it. Hence the stagger, hence the wobble, hence the resulting fakirism.

F. G., NEW YORK.—Don't be so sure of it. Tammany itself does not feel quite so confident, whatever it may pretend. There is pouring into this city a very large floating vote. Then also the notion has become quite prevalent that municipal elections should be non-partisan. Silly tho' the notion is, it is there.

S. L. P., NEW YORK.—Your question smells of "coaching." Read. Read history. Read natural history. Read biography. And, above all, think while you read. Reading in the way your inquiry indicates, is cramming. Don't.

V. F. K., HOLLAND, MICH.—Cannot make out from your letter what it is you said, and want the "Journals" on.

In these columns we frequently stated during the year 1901 that the "American Federationist" was publishing the advertisement of the Dayton National Cash Register Company as "MADE BY ORGANIZED UNION LABOR," notwithstanding the Metal Polishers, etc. Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, was on strike against the concern and boycotting it as non-union. Is it that you said? If so, will send you copies of the "Federationist" and of the "Journal" of the Metal Polishers, etc. Union to back you up.

C. W., WORCESTER, MASS.—You judge wrongly. Do not wonder at the men in the so-called "Socialist" party, who, as you correctly say, "but yesterday indignantly rejected taking their policy from the d—d Dutchmen," and now are seen saluting before the German Social Democracy. The secret of the transformation lies in the very fact that you point out: The "bourgeois-radicalism," that the German Social Democracy has been forced to degenerate into. What these "Socialist" party men saluted to, is not the German in the German Social Democracy, but their own image, which they see reflected there.

J. E. W., SCHENECTADY, N. Y.—The passage occurs in a work "Towards the Critique of Political Economy." Are not aware that it is translated into English. A passage or chapter thereof, translated by Florence Kelly, is to be found in the appendix of Marx' speech on Free Trade. Inquire Labor News Company. At the time, "Socialists" was the name given to the Utopians.

"INVESTIGATOR," NEW YORK.—The term "Organized Scabbay" designates those labor leaders in the Trades Unions who act as Labor-leutenants for the capitalist class. They are thoroughly organized among themselves.

T. J., ROCKLAND, ME.—There is no such difference between Gompers and President Eliot. They are both tugging at the same end of the rope. The scab-breeder and the scab-praiser cannot essentially be different.

T. L. L., PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Wherein consists Roosevelt's statesmanship? Why, the man's fingers are all thumbs.

C. W. D., MARLBOROUGH, MASS.—The first appearance in New York City of the Social Democratic party was in the campaign of 1900. Before that, immediately upon Debs' Handed Hall speech, Chicago, June, 1897, where he started the colony scheme, styled "Social Democracy," there was started an organization of that colony scheme in the Jewish quarters of this city, and in the campaign of 1898 that organization set up a ticket in three assembly districts. Owing to this circumstance it is sometimes erroneously said that the present Social Democratic party started here in that year. The opinion proceeds from a superficial observation of events. What there was in 1898 was that colony affair. There was no Social Democratic party in sight in New York city in 1899.

M. N., BUENA VISTA, PA.—Can't view

It in those lamps. The test of a man is not the history of what he has done, but what he does NOW. Moreover, in nine cases out of ten, when the history of past acts is appealed to in discussions over present deeds, it will be found that the past is as faulty as the present, and is resorted to in the hope that time has obliterated the fishiness thereof.

G. F. L., RUTLAND, MASS.—You are right. You were misquoted by us when we added "From different States" to the "at least twenty-one members." The misquotation was unintentional, and would not have been discovered by us without your calling attention to it, and explaining that you did not mean them to be from different States. It did not cross our mind that, aiming at a more representative National Executive Committee, you could mean a larger body all selected from the same Section, or even from the same State.

Both this point and your second point go to show the urgency of a thorough debate on the question of the National Executive Committee organization, before the next national convention meets. In all such discussions there is so much shell to the kernel that it will be well the shells be thoroughly disposed of in advance.

D. T. W., PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Henry White, alias Korkorowsky, is called "Hanna's" eleventh vice-president" because he is the eleventh labor skate on the list of twelve headed by Gompers on the Civic Federation.

"R." YONKERS, N. Y.—Too early to foretell. Did you read Shepard's article in the World on the elections? If you did, and can read between the lines, you must have observed that the Democratic party feels gloom.

D. L., NEW YORK.—Have not seen, and do not know the play. For the rest, the notion that "Socialism in power will do as those in power now do" is a superficial notion, betraying ignorance of a social evolution. The question is not Whatascalities may Socialists in office perpetrate? any more than the point would have been germane during the American Revolution that the victorious Revolutionists would also do wrong. The point then was Can or shall feudalism continue? So to-day, the point is: The Capitalist Social System is rotten—ripe for substitution with Socialism. That the triumphant Revolutionists of 1776 have developed into the abominable capitalists of to-day is no argument against the Revolution of 1776. Each of these Revolutions brings nearer to the race the possibility of a really moral life.

N. D., NEW BEDFORD, MASS.—How you talk! "Bossism." Why, man, there is more bossism to the square inch in your so-called Socialist party than there could be found in the whole area of the Socialist Labor Party. Why, look at your own State. See how its State conventions are run. A very full exposure thereof was made not long ago by one of yourselves—Margaret Hale. It was boss rule with a vengeance. Then look at your "Socialist" party press. It is owned by private bodies, and run to suit them. Yours is not even the case of the "pot calling the kettle black." It is a case of the pot or kettle calling a white bowl black.

M. S. M., NEW YORK.—We know you more about "the strike at Mozle Bros." than has appeared in these columns. If a Kangaroo says that "the Socialist Labor Party is scabbing it" in that shop, it is convincing evidence that the statement is untrue. Scabbing is a Kangaroo attribute. You have but to hear how their unions denounce one another as scabs. What we do know in connection with Mozle Bros. is that one Dorfmann is involved among the men. This Dorfmann we know well. He was one of those who, at the Buffalo convention of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, went on record as voting "aye" in favor of Bohm, the then convicted publisher of capitalist political advertisements in the souvenir of the Central Labor Federation.

H. J. S., LOS ANGELES, CAL.—It surely can't be your purpose to keep the lampoonists alive. They are dead and buried. To print such letters would be to resuscitate them. They could wish for nothing better. As Don Quixote said to Sancho on a certain memorable occasion: "Don't stir dung."



